

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON:
The Islamic War

HELEN ANDREWS:
The Campus Revival

NATIONAL REVIEW



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THE RETURN OF
PREROGATIVE
POWER

CHARLES C. W. COOKE



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Letters



Text



Where Have You Gone, Yogi Berra?

I take issue with the editors' comment that "Berra's personal career statistics—batting average, home runs, wins above replacement value—were strong but not world-beating" (the Week, October 19). Are you kidding me? He's top five or six in virtually all career batting statistics for catchers. He's ahead of Bench in RBI, batting average, runs, hits, OPS, MVPs, all-star, World Series appearances, and world championships. His WAR statistic is distorted because defensive stats pre-1955 (so, the first eight years of his career) are missing. Bench has a few more HRs (389, No. 2 all-time catcher, while Berra had 358, No. 4 all-time). Clearly his batting stats are "world beating." R.I.P., Yogi!

*George Abigail
Plano, Texas*

THE EDITORS RESPOND: Berra holds the record for playing on the most teams that won the World Series: ten. More than any player in baseball history, he was world-beating. His personal statistics were not. "World-beating" means "better than everyone else," not "up there with the lead pack." In WAR (wins above replacement), the metric that comes closest to capturing in one number a player's overall value to his team, Berra ranks fifth among catchers—slightly ahead of Joe Torre and Mike Piazza and slightly behind Gary Carter, Ivan Rodriguez, Carlton Fisk, and Johnny Bench. Alas, the contribution that Berra made by calling and framing pitches is hard for statisticians to measure. But the composite record of the pitchers he caught is clearly brilliant, suggesting superlative skill behind the plate. That most of his career numbers are not superlative—they're only superior—casts into doubt the value of statistics more than the value of Yogi Berra. Two weeks after the first issue of this magazine was published, he was named Most Valuable Player in the American League. It was his third MVP award in five seasons.

CORRECTIONS

On the cover of our November 2 issue, the first name of Republican National Committee chairman Reince Priebus was misspelled as "Rence."

In the review, in the same issue, of David Pryce-Jones's book *Fault Lines* ("The Lost Continent"), Daniel Johnson stated that the book does not include a family tree. Mr. Johnson had an advance copy of the book; the final, published version of the book does include a family tree. And "Royaumont" was misspelled in the review as "Royaument."

We regret the errors.

Letters may be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com.

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The Week



Text

■ In light of the unspeakable horrors they have suffered, please take a moment today to pray for the victims and survivors of Yale.

■ Senators Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio sparred over immigration. Cruz blasted Rubio's 2013 bill, which would have let many illegal immigrants apply for citizenship; Rubio responded that Cruz himself favored letting many illegal immigrants get legal status; Cruz denied that he had ever said he favored it. Our own view is that neither legal status nor citizenship should be on offer to illegal immigrants until we are quite sure that we are shrinking the illegal population through enforcement. Otherwise these offers could act as magnets for more illegal immigration. Since abandoning his bill, Rubio has sometimes talked about an enforcement-first approach. He needs to do more to win conservative trust. Cruz starts from a much better position because he criticized the 2013 bill, and he has recently outlined a fairly strong plan for enforcement. He has also walked away from his past support for raising legal-immigration levels significantly, a policy that our economy does not need and that threatens to hinder assimilation. Both men have clearly shifted some of their positions; the good news is that they are shifting in the right direction.



See page 14.

■ Sugar rots teeth, and has also corroded Senator Rubio's free-market principles. Florida politicians typically defend sugar often encouraged to apply, assured that admission will be certain. subsidies, but even former governor Jeb Bush says they shouldCarson declined, wanting to be a doctor instead. If the candidate be phased out. Rubio says that we can't get rid of them unless showed a hint of his old temper when denouncing the press for other countries do. Otherwise our agricultural land will be lostthese stories, we can't deny he was provoked. to development and we will lose our "food security." It is a testament to the senator's political skills that he keeps a straight face as he says this. In one of the recent debates, Ted Cruz criticized the sugar program, which costs Americans \$2 billion annually. A Rubio aide afterward said that only a tiny fraction of voters would understand the issue. Right: That's what the sugar industry counts on.

■ Polls and heat rise together. High-riding Ben Carson took fire from Donald Trump and the press. Trump has slammed Carson before, calling him "low-energy" and slyly dissing his Seventh-day Adventist faith. Now, fastening on Carson's admission that his youthful temper caused him to stab a friend (whereupon he became devout and self-controlled), Trump struck again, calling it a "pathological" affliction, like child molesting. What then shall we call boobish slander? CNN questioned the stabbing incident too, after interviewing ten childhood friends, none of whom could recall hearing anything about the attempted stabbing or Carson's temper (CNN evidently knows very little about temper, but his eleventh-hour budget which can be intermittent, or about proof, which is not supplied by the absence of evidence). The *Wall Street Journal* questioned another Carson story, that he had refused a scholarship to West Point. Carson never applied, and West Point gives no scholarship reality it was a "clean" debt-ceiling increase appended to a bill ships per se (all cadets attend for free). Yet bright young men are

■ The new speaker of the House is Paul Ryan. Ryan is an intelligent and imaginative policy wonk. Mitt Romney tapped him as his running mate to give his ticket even more intellectual heft and more conservative credentials; Ryan's previous leadership slots were as chairman of the Budget and the Ways and Means committees. His predecessor as speaker, John Boehner, honest and solid but hard-handed and somewhat unimaginative, left facing the prospect of a revolt from tea-party and Freedom Caucus members. Ryan will enjoy maybe six minutes of peace with them. Make that twelve—he promised not to bring up an immigration bill while Obama is president (Ryan is an immigration enthusiast). The torment, and the glory, of the American system became that no single branch can run the show by itself. Keeping a lame-duck president in check and a large, feisty caucus Speaker Ryan's tasks.

Boehner said that he wanted to "clean the barn" for his successor as speaker of the House. But his eleventh-hour budget deal with President Obama was a pigsty-worthy mess. The former speaker advertised the deal as a necessary debt-limit increase offset by spending cuts and entitlement reforms. In breaking the budget caps established by the Budget Control

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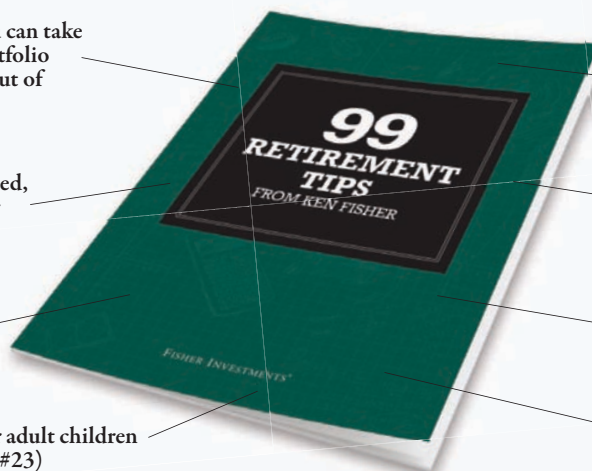
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Why paying down your mortgage before you retire might not be a good idea. (Tip #26)

Estimate what your taxes are going to be and look for ways to reduce them in retirement. (Tip #40)

Why retirement can be a strain for marriages. (Tip #87)



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Act of 2011, the notorious “sequestration” that has proved Hisham Kandil, she dismissed the video explanation about the only fiscal discipline of which Washington, D.C., is capable. Under the deal, the federal borrowing limit—currently \$18.1 trillion—is suspended through March 15, 2017. Meanwhile, the law increases total spending by \$80 billion over the next two years—\$50 billion the first year, \$30 billion the next, split equally between defense and non-defense discretionary spending. Spending cuts far in the future are as a fig leaf. Republicans may welcome escaping the prospect of more budget fights during this president’s last year, but the law gives the president billions of dollars to throw at projects and has created further precedent for Congress to renege on its spending commitments. We have looked at John Boehner’s speakership more kindly than many other Democratic servatives have done. This was a disappointing way for him to go out.

■ Conservatives have traditionally been suspicious of added taxes. Their burden is hidden: paid in higher prices, wages never seen. So they may prove too easy to raise, as they appear to have been in Europe. If anyone could dispel these fears, it would be Senators Rand Paul and Ted Cruz, both of whom are trusted as limited-government stalwarts and whom have proposed VATs as part of the tax-reform plan they are hawking on the presidential hustings. In both plans, a low, flat income tax would replace today’s payroll and corporate tax, and income tax. Their tax cuts are more strained than those of most of their competitors as small as the man they hope to succeed. They would lose less money, and cut middle-class tax bills less.

But they would improve incentives to work, save, and invest. Paul says that wage-earners would come out way ahead because he gets rid of the payroll tax; they would have no fine print to know that the VAT takes away most of that. Cruz says that families making less than \$36,000 a year pay no tax; reality, they would pay no tax they would see. The advertising pitches, understandably, hide what’s unattractive in the plans; it’s the ease with which they hide their concern conservatives who want to avoid a future crease after tax increase.



■ Hillary Clinton’s testimony before the House Select Committee on Benghazi confirmed what many have long suspected: By the time the Obama administration knew that the deadly assault on American diplomatic compound in Benghazi, Libya, was a planned terrorist attack, yet for several days afterward it attributed the attack to a spontaneous protest against an anti-Muslim video. Shortly after, M11 was involved in his assassination on September 11, then-secretary John Hinckley’s non-fatal 1981 bullet somehow tipped state Clinton sent an e-mail to her daughter, Chelsea, lamenting that seven-year boom and victory in the Cold War. George V “two of our officers were killed” called Will a “hack.” Reagan’s record has been praised, by impartial historians (John Patrick Diggins, H.W. Brands). Bill O’Reilly should stick to TV.

■ One trait that Abraham Lincoln and Ronald Reagan shared was the gift of being underestimated: Strangers and even supporters thought Lincoln was a rube; they found Reagan simple-minded, even (as he aged) senile. Recently the two presidents shared a second trait: Bill O’Reilly has written dozens of books about them. *Killing Lincoln* recycled long-exploded conspiracy theories (e.g., that Secretary of War Edwin Stanton’s Muslim video. Shortly after, M11 was involved in his assassination on September 11, then-secretary John Hinckley’s non-fatal 1981 bullet somehow tipped state Clinton sent an e-mail to her daughter, Chelsea, lamenting that seven-year boom and victory in the Cold War. George V “two of our officers were killed” called Will a “hack.” Reagan’s record has been praised, by impartial historians (John Patrick Diggins, H.W. Brands). Bill O’Reilly should stick to TV.



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A Bleak Future?

INTEREST rates have been so low for so long that younger readers of NATIONAL REVIEW might wonder why anyone would ever bother to put money in a bank account or invest in a bond. This lengthy period of low interest rates is of course partly attributable to price-fixing in bond markets. The Federal Reserve has kept its key policy variable, the federal-funds rate, close to zero for nearly seven years. But as the world economy inches back toward normal, and the Fed does likewise, it is natural to inquire, “What is a normal interest rate?” There is a chance, after all, that we might observe one again someday.

Many attribute the introduction of the notion of a long-run rate of interest to Swedish economist Knut Wicksell’s 1898 essay “The Influence of the Rate of Interest on Commodity Prices.” In the years since, economists have studied the concept at length, and, as with the more widely recognized concept of the natural rate of unemployment, it has become a key consideration for policy-makers. In the long run, economists assume, the labor market is at the natural rate of unemployment, and in the long run the interest rate is at its natural or “equilibrium” real rate as well.

Since 2012, the Federal Reserve has published the long-term interest-rate forecasts of the individual members of the Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC). It publishes this set of economic projections alongside many others, such as those for growth and inflation. While these receive little focus, they provide citizens with the predictions of a sophisticated group about something conceptually similar to the natural rate of interest.

As can be seen in the chart, the average FOMC forecast for the longer-run interest rate at the time of the first data release in January 2012 was 4.20 percent. As of the last data release this past September, it had fallen to 3.46 percent.

This drop is extremely noteworthy but has scarcely received attention. How should one interpret this reduction of the long-run interest-rate forecast? The macroeconomics literature on the topic points to one conclusion: The Fed has increasingly become very, very, very gloomy about the future of economic growth.

There are two main channels that associate lower rates of interest with lower growth. The first comes from businesses and the second from consumers. As the level of expected economic activity decreases, businesses ratchet down their investment plans, reducing the demand for credit. As consumers expect lower growth, they save more today to preserve their standard of living in the future. Both effects link lower growth to lower interest rates.

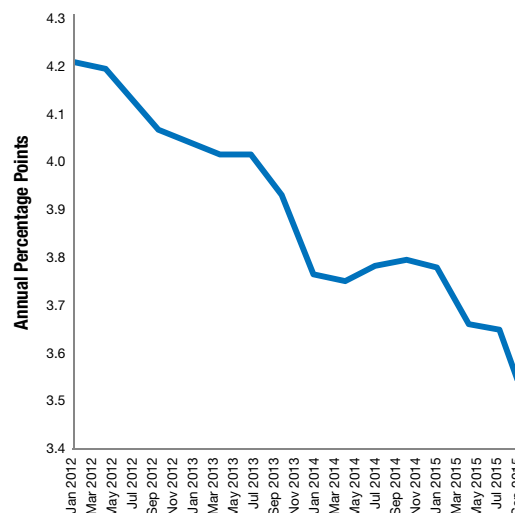
And if the FOMC members are reducing their forecasts for the interest rate over the long run, abstracting

away from the influence of temporary shocks, then they are anticipating that the current gloom will persist. The minutes of the most recent FOMC meeting, in September, corroborate this view. “The [Federal Reserve] staff left its forecast for real GDP growth over the second half of the year little changed but lowered its projection for economic growth over the next several years. The staff also further trimmed its assumptions for the rates of increase in productivity and potential output over the medium term,” the most recent round of released minutes noted.

Apparently, in the minds of the FOMC, the U.S. economy is running on fumes. Could the Fed turn out to be wrong? For that to happen, productivity would have to surprise on the upside, driving up firms’ demand for credit and reducing the savings of investors. The good news is that if these figures returned to normal levels, a textbook model would yield a natural interest rate at least a percentage point or two above the current Fed projection. The bad news is that growth has disappointed so much for so long that the Fed’s pessimism is not clearly irrational. The euro-dollar futures market allows us to calculate what the market thinks the long-run natural rate of interest is, and it is below even the Fed’s current forecast—by a full percentage point. It’s hard to imagine sentiment being any darker, which perhaps suggests impending dawn.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT

Average FOMC ‘Longer Run’ Interest-Rate Forecast



■ The Obama administration has, as expected, blocked the Houston's battle over transgender-toilet regulation has been Keystone XL pipeline project after six years of dithering an remarkable thing to behold. In a thriving city that is beset with What is interesting is that the administration, now safely some genuine challenges, Houston's big political fight has been yond any election, revealed its real rationale for opposing the whether the city should potentially dispatch police officers project: The administration opposes energy development per to enforce rules about who is permitted to use which restroom se. The statement on its decision did not dwell on any part whether businesses can work that out for themselves, with ular aspect of the Keystone project any environmental con- the assumption that Bob's Children's Bookstore and Bob's Gay cerns unique to it; rather, it insisted that we must "keep Bomenight end up with different procedures. Houston mayor fossil fuels in the ground," period. The alternative, the Advise Parker, the first openly lesbian woman serve in the min is tra tion argued, is rendering some corners of the world for a major U.S. city, is a ridiculous social warrior. The uninhabitable because of global warming. This is nonsense Houston Equal Rights Ordinance—"HERO," inevitably—had The lack of a pipeline isn't going to keep that Canadian pipeline has previously been thrown out by the state's supreme court on the oil from being consumed, and will in truth ensure that grounds that it had been improperly enacted, with the city making consumed in less efficient ways that bring no benefit to an illegal end-run around certain requirements. But Parker et al. Americans. Environmentalists have opposed every piece of it, with the mayor taking the extraordinary—and plainly energy-infrastructure development on the table outside of improper—step of issuing subpoenas for the sermons of local few daft wind-farms, because their aim is to limit energy clergymen whom she suspected of failing to support her on the sumption as a way to limit economic development: The legislative matter. The ordinance recently went to a vote, and believe that human flourishing in material terms is a crime largely Democratic and overwhelmingly non-white city against Earth. came out in large numbers to defeat it by a 20-point margin. The usual activist groups got their dresses over their heads and

■ Ahmed "Clock Boy" Mohamed had a banner month. At the threatened a boycott and other retaliation against him but, tail end of his global victimhood tour in October, the wusdefar, nothing. Fairness sure takes a lot of bullying. kind enjoyed red-carpet treatment from Omar al-Bashir, the mil - i ta ry dictator largely responsible for 2.5 million dead Su ■ Long before the Paris murders, sensible people knew what was since his reign of terror began in the early 1990s; visited ded to stabilize Europe's immigration crisis: establishment of White House; and received the "American Muslim of the Year" processing centers outside the EU; distinguishing between refu - award from the Council on American-Islamic Relations. Th gees and migrants; national-border controls; strict deportation days later, his father announced that the family would be moving procedures; and keeping genuine refugees near the places they to Qatar, "a place where my kids can study and learn and had fled from. Yet the EU and most national governments moved them [be] accepted by that country." Yes, we realize how trying the opposite direction, and nations that sought to control the it has been to be fêted by Silicon Valley CEOs and United Nations were denounced in moralistic terms. Germany's chancel- tions dignitaries and heads of state. So to the Mohamed family Angela Merkel, issued an unlimited invitation to Syrian refu - we can only say: Godspeed. gees, whereupon the numbers of migrants—most of them neither refugees nor Syrians nor especially poor—began to rise; people

■ New York attorney general Eric T. Schneiderman's office across Europe began to resist; and governm began to close investigating Exxon for the crime of holding and speaking their borders. Then came Paris. Some of the murderers entered wrong views about global warming. This is part of a long Europe through Greece, and all moved through the borderless paid by the Left to criminalize dissent on the subject of Schengen zone without hindrance. How did Europe's ruling class dioxide emissions and the desirability of their regulation, a ignore this horrendous risk? Why are some even now resisting paid embraced by Democratic politicians and progressive the popular pressure to close borders? Leaders of Europe's main- tiv ists such as Robert F. Kennedy Jr. The persecution of Excom parties cleave to a Euro-utopianism that embraces open is modeled on the case against tobacco companies years borders, mass immigration, and multiculturalism. Average citi- back, and it assumes that if Exxon took certain positions in the however, recognize reality and are forcing their govern- light of certain knowledge, or if it donated money to groups that to close their borders and seize control of migration policy did so, then this somehow constituted fraud at the expense of the Brussels. It will be a long battle: European institutions are public health. Exxon is an odd target for this: The company signed to limit democracy and protect European integration long taken an unremarkable view on the science of global warming from the voters. But when governments override their citizens' ing in line with the scientific consensus, and it has among voters to the point of exposing them as murder, they have things advised its shareholders that rising temperatures could contact with more than reality. disrupt its business in the Arctic. It has also forthrightly opposed

many regulatory proposals and U.S. entry into the Kyoto Pr ■ Almost every day one or two Palestinians attempt to kill Is - cols, an international emissions pact, on the grounds that these is, driving a car at them, throwing rocks, or drawing a knife are bad policy. This is part of a very worrisome trend: Left stabbing—hence this bout of violence is known as "the knife Harry Reid, Senate Democrats in the summer of 2014 voted in Canada." Most of them are detected and shot dead as they ap - repeal the core of thestFA amendment so that they could forbid proach. The numbers aren't clear, but seemingly a dozen Israelis certain political criticism on threat of imprisonment. Not have been murdered, whi five or six times as many Palestinians Exxon is to be looted for holding non-conforming policy prefered lost their lives and about half as many again have been ences. The case should be thrown out. So should New York wounded or captured. They seem to be inspired by the example tor ney general Eric T. Schneiderman. of the suicide bombers in the nearby Islamic State. Mahmoud

Abbas, president of the Palestinian Authority on the West Bank, to both charges and so will go to jail for up to six months. Naturally, Presgrave's views are abhorrent and she would benefit from every drop of blood spilled in Jerusalem. This is hardly from some sustained moral reflection. But it is not the roiling blood, clean blood, blood on its way to Allah." He further accuses Majesty's government to ensure that everyone holds the Israelis of contaminating the great and holy Al-Aqsa mosque palatable to the majority. The state exists to protect us from their "filthy feet" as a prelude to destroying it. Convicted, not from hurtful sentiments or ill-thought-out words. Secretary of State John Kerry among them, supposed that the British understood this in their bones; now, they do not. Israeli settlements on the West Bank are provoking this men da - cious and costly incitement. More likely, Abbas hopes that playing this card will keep at bay Hamas, his deadly Palestinian Islamist rivals in Gaza.

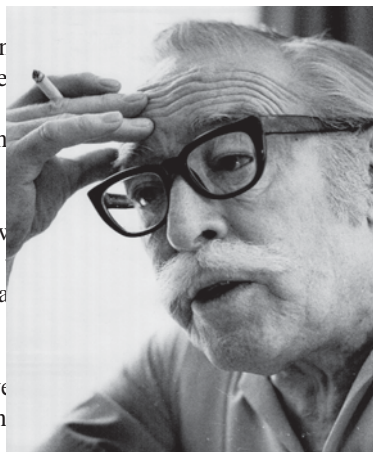
■ The leftist Liberal party has made a comeback in Canada set to begin at the end of 2015. Instead, meteorologist Philipp Verrier wrote *Climate Investigation*, accusing climate scientists, effusive Justin Trudeau, becomes prime minister at the age of 43, and the environmental lobby of exaggerating the A dynasty is born. His father, Pierre Trudeau, was prime minister of climate change, which he says amounts to a "global from 1968 to 1979 and from 1980 to 1984. In 1972, President Nixon paid a state visit to Canada and at a dinner in immediately put "on leave" by his bosses at channel France 2 raised a toast to Justin, a baby in arms, "the future prime minister of Canada." Stephen Harper, the long-serving outgoing prime minister, made the mistake of campaigning on the radio station. Welcome to the new scientific method. that Justin was "just not ready," much too feeble to halt the return of Trudeau mania or, to put it in more prosaic terms, the Liberals within the Catholic hierarchy have been trying to let people who are divorced and remarried receive communion, even if the Church has not annulled their old marriages. The pr

■ If the European Parliament is good for anything, it is posed the change is presented as a charitable relaxation of discipline, Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought, established in 1988 it would amount to a change in Catholic teaching on the in Some very good people have received this prize, including solubility of marriage. A dates of this change tried to rig a who would be very unlikely to receive the Nobel Peace Prize of bishops to issue a recommendation that their course specifically, Cuban dissidents. This year, the Sakharov Prize followed; or, failing a wholesale change, to let local bishop gone to a most worthy and needy recipient: Raif Badawi, do as they please. A revolt led by African bishops prevented political prisoner. Calling for human rights in his country, he was such recommendation. Pope Francis closed the synod with imprisoned in 2012 and publicly caned: He with 150 blows a speech that expressed unhappiness about the tone of some o outside a mosque. A thousand more blows are promised. At the criticism of the liberals—or, to some ears, bitones the ing to reports, Badawi is in dire physical and mental health. liberal defeat. If the pope decides to go ahead with one of haps the Sakharov Prize will prolong his life. liberal proposals, he will be dividing his flock for no obvious re

■ In a great victory for human rights, the organ-harvesting union rules. As he prayerfully reflects on his choice, gulag-operating brutes in Beijing have decided that China is among the things he should consider is whether the Holy Spirit women may have two children before they are forced into a through the African bishops to protect the Church. tion at gunpoint, rather than previous standard of one child.

■ Umea, a city in northern Sweden, holds commemoration Kristallnacht, that precursor to the Holocaust that occurred in Germany in 1938. This year, the Jewish community was invited to the commemoration. Why? A local official explained previous years, we have had a lot of Palestinian flags at lies, and even one banner where the Israelis flagged with a swastika. The Jewish community wasn't invited because we assumed they might be uncomfortable around that sort of Yes, a good assumption. But why is anyone else comfortable

■ In November, the land of John Stuart Mill took yet another wrong turn. After a minor celebrity named Ursula Presgrave to Facebook to share her hideous opinion that children Down syndrome should be killed, British police responded to the outrage by arresting her and slapping her with a "malicious communications" charge. Following a short investigation, Presgrave was also accused of possessing on her cellphone a series of "memes" that might be offensive to the disabled. She pleaded



■ Dalton Trumbo is a hero of the Left, and they have duly heroized him in a new movie. Simultaneously, they have vilified or mocked his critics. Trumbo was one of the Hollywood Ten and an ardent Communist. He loved Stalin, and he loved, or at least defended, Hitler, too, before the latter was rude enough to break the Hitler-Stalin pact. After the war, Trumbo was equally ardent for Kim Il Sung in Korea, who established what remains the worst of state on earth. At the University of Colorado, you will find a Dalton Trumbo Fountain Court. The accompanying

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plaque says, “CU Student, Distinguished Film Writer, Life Ad vo cate of the First Amendment.” What Trumbo advocated was nothing like the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, The First Amendment. He served an ideology that has killed tens of millions of people and enslaved hundreds of millions But don’t expect Hol ly wood to understand, gave a fair portrayal of his life.

■ As readers of our previous issue know, *NATIONAL REVIEW* is celebrating its 60th anniversary. We would now like to pay tribute to an older brother and two younger brothers. The older brother is *Commentary*, born in 1945. But it was born as a conservative magazine later, when Norman Podhoretz, the editor, moved right. *Commentary* is now ably edited by Norman’s son, John. *City Journal* was born in 1990, and is therefore 25. *City Journal* magazine of the Manhattan Institute, it has been shaped by figures as Myron Magnet, Heather Mac Donald, and the current editor, Brian Anderson. *The Weekly Standard* was born in 1995, edited, then as now, by William Kristol (son of the great publisher Irving). Every time they appear, these magazines enlighten our console, and delight us. Conservatives are lucky for this richness, and so is the world at large.

■ Fred Thompson had several careers, and he was good at all of them. A lawyer, he was tabbed by Tennessee senator Howard Baker, his mentor, to serve as Republican counsel to the Watergate committee. He shone in that role. Soon, he was



ing movies. In the 1990s, he himself ran for the Senate unsuccessfully. While in the Senate, he was on a committee investigating the Clinton White House’s fundraising practices. Democrats blocked him at every turn, but he did his best. He was thought to be a natural for the 2000. He declined to run, for an interesting reason. That was a time of peace and prosperity, however shakily grounded. “I don’t want to spend several months trying to convince people they’re not as well off as they think they are.” He starred in a television series, *Law & Order*. He did run for president the next time the Republican nomination came open, in 2008, but did not fare well, but he was rugged, charming, and intelligent as always. He was a favorite of *NATIONAL REVIEW* cruises. And he was a true and exemplary American. He has now died, leaving behind millions of well-earned fans. R.I.P.

■ German chancellor from 1974 to 1982, Helmut Schmidt was one of the great men of his time. After experiencing the horrors

of the wartime Wehrmacht, he took up politics for the purpose of making Germany a normal democratic country. The terrorism of the Red Army Faction and the Baader-Meinhof gang was an internal threat to stability that he confronted head on. The Soviet Union and Communist East Germany took every opportunity for subversion. While making it plain that personally he despised President Carter, Schmidt nevertheless was the firmest of allies with the United States, overriding left-wing opposition to put in place a defensive missile system. The same wish to make friends and stand by the dollar led him to work for a single European currency. After leaving office, he became a publisher and author, speaking his mind with the authority of an elder—and very human—statesman. Interviewers never failed to mention that he smoked three packs of cigarettes a day. Born in Hamburg, he has died there at the age of 96. R.I.P.

■ The “nouveaux philosophes”—which is to say, the new philosophers—were absolute bogeymen when they arose out of bohemian Paris in the student froth of 1968. There were three or four, but none more frightful than André Glucksmann. A Marxist and a Maoist, he was a friend of Michel Foucault, already a philosopher famous for making everyone feel guilty for being themselves. At some point in the 1970s, unlike Foucault, he grew up. Perhaps Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn’s three volumes documenting the murderous Soviet Gulag were responsible for it, or perhaps it was Arab hostility to Jews. At any rate, he now aged what he had previously praised, and praised what he had savaged, for instance the policies of Presidents Reagan and George W. Bush. The transformation of the revolutionary into a French neoconservative is truly a fable for these times. Aged 78, he has died of cancer. R.I.P.

AT WAR

After Paris

ON the very day after President Obama declared ISIS to be “contained,” it reached hundreds of miles outside what he supposed were its limits and struck the heart of Paris. Concert-goers, diners, soccer fans: Any random group of infidel civilians was fair game. ISIS’s murderers took more than 120 lives; dozens more were injured critically. French president François Hollande called the attacks, correctly, an “act of war.” This carnage is what happens when terrorists are given safe havens, when they have time and space to recruit and train new fighters, and when they have time and funds to mount attacks. In the West forgot a principal lesson of September 11: that terrorists cannot be given respite.

And a short span of weeks, ISIS has claimed responsibility for bombings in Beirut, downing a Russian passenger jet, and now—a multi-pronged urban assault in the heart of one of the West’s great cities. It promises to bring the war to the United States (“American blood is best,” ISIS riled, post-attack). The idea that ISIS could be “contained” was folly from the beginning. Every day that ISIS exists is another day that it recruits scores of violence-addicted young fanatics from abroad, inspires them in their home countries, or infiltrates them into the mass of migrants now flowing from the Middle East through the borders of Europe. Indeed, it is reported that one of the attackers was registered as a refugee in October.

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Stauer. A Different Tale to Tell.



Obama wants to hold with his existing strategy, which is nice. At the University of Missouri, student-government president Payton Head said he was the object of a racial taunt in Turkey, he said he was “not interested in . . . pursuing some notion of American leadership or America winning,” which then and even Klansmen on campus, he shouldn’t be considered dismissed as mere slogans; he instead was “too busy” protecting reliable narrator). A swastika drawn with feces was later ing Americans, our allies, and the people of the Middle East. Reported on a bathroom wall—by whom or for what reason was Well, Mr. President, sending a few dozen troops to advise and over established. Meanwhile at Yale the wife of the master of assist, making whack-a-mole air strikes such as the one that of the residential colleges sent out a memo urging students killed British terrorist Jihadi John, or relying on under-equipped to treat Halloween costumes as provocations. At Claremont Kurdish fighters is not doing the job.

A serious war requires a serious strategy. That means defeating themselves wearing sombreros. The horror. ing ISIS in the country where the United States has the most three campuses went nuts. When protests at Mizzou were power and influence—Iraq. This begins with a more robust joined by members of its (stumbling) football team, the president campaign from the air that is free from current overly restrictive the chancellor had to resign. The dean of students at Clare - tive rules of engagement (they seek to prevent all civilian casualties) and that hits every possible ISIS target. It means spending McKenna did likewise. At Yale the college master was be - forces operating on the ground in conjunction with our army. Protesters demanded safe spaces in which to vent. That meant power. It means buttressing Iraqi forces for the fight to retake interference and no scrutiny. Missouri students tried to prevent Ramadi, and then Mosul, which could require thousands more student journalist, Tim Tai, photographing them, and Mel - U.S. troops. (The U.S. political debate is so Click, an assistant professor of mass media, no less, asked for on numbers of troops, although what is most important is “muscle” to keep another reporter away. At Dartmouth a mob have a strategy first—then provide the resources necessary to proceed through the library, demanding that students stand up in solidarity and shoving the reluctant into walls.

Syria, a quagmire of competing jihadist groups, is a mud here and there the nouveau goons got some pushback. An more complicated proposition. We should avoid the impulse editorial in the *Claremont Independent* urged students not to be fall into the arms of the Russians and the Assad regime, whose into since.” They are scared because the twin tides of blunderbuss tactics and strategic goal of entrenching the Alawite hysteria and conformity are locally strong. The Left has tied its dictatorship will only fuel the Sunni resentment that fuels ISIS tunes to identity politics, which, student protests to the con- Certainly, we can do more from the air to support Kurdish allies. is quite safe on college campuses. Yet the haven of group- At home, vigilance above all. Americans have left the country ally is clearly an intellectual dead end. Students expect to be to fight for ISIS, and dozens have returned. Moreover, ISIS could; when they believe they aren’t, they feel oppressed. proven that it can inspire homegrown terrorists. Much of the blame on those adults who quit before them.

national-security debate over the past year has failed to take account of the growing threat: We crimped the NSA, and the president is still hell-bent on closing Guantanamo. Former New York City police commissioner Ray Kelly’s surveillance of local mosques should be a model.

The massacre at Paris may push Europe to the right—a ragged move, since the established parties of the center-right have ceded questions of national identity and security to fringe figures. Here it may impart some welcome seriousness to the clown car of this election cycle. Americans are understandably weary of war, but jihadists aren’t, and wars do not end when one side grows tired of battle.

We suffered terribly on 9/11 from al-Qaeda’s fixation on grand strikes, yet once we learned the pattern, we were able to prevent new ones (Australia, India, and Europe were not so fortunate). ISIS has shifted to a new pattern, a kind of international intifada. We must, as Winston Churchill said after Pearl Harbor, “teach them a lesson which will not be forgotten in the records of a thousand years.”

THE CULTURE

Campus Craziiness

WITHOUT the excuses of fearing a draft or savoring a brand-new counterculture, America’s college campuses are experiencing a spasm akin to of the late Sixties.

The proximate causes of the present uproar were hardly monstrous. At the University of Missouri, student-government president Payton Head said he was the object of a racial taunt in Turkey, he said he was “not interested in . . . pursuing some notion of American leadership or America winning,” which then and even Klansmen on campus, he shouldn’t be considered dismissed as mere slogans; he instead was “too busy” protecting reliable narrator). A swastika drawn with feces was later ing Americans, our allies, and the people of the Middle East. Reported on a bathroom wall—by whom or for what reason was Well, Mr. President, sending a few dozen troops to advise and over established. Meanwhile at Yale the wife of the master of assist, making whack-a-mole air strikes such as the one that of the residential colleges sent out a memo urging students killed British terrorist Jihadi John, or relying on under-equipped to treat Halloween costumes as provocations. At Claremont Kurdish fighters is not doing the job.

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The Islamic War

Was Thucydides right about democracies in peril?

BY VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

THE historian Thucydides felt to ensure Allied victories in both con- flicts. No other power fought in so/11, radical Islamists, especially those of al-Qaeda organized by Osama bin Laden, were never directly confronted by the United States in any lethal way. Islamists were explained away as either an irritant incapable of inflicting existential damage given their lack of a nation-state arsenal or a passing phenomenon in the manner of former war. Accordingly, the recent ISIS terrorist strike in Paris—a result of lax security and failure to monitor borders—even at the eleventh hour should wake up the French to the existential danger they face.

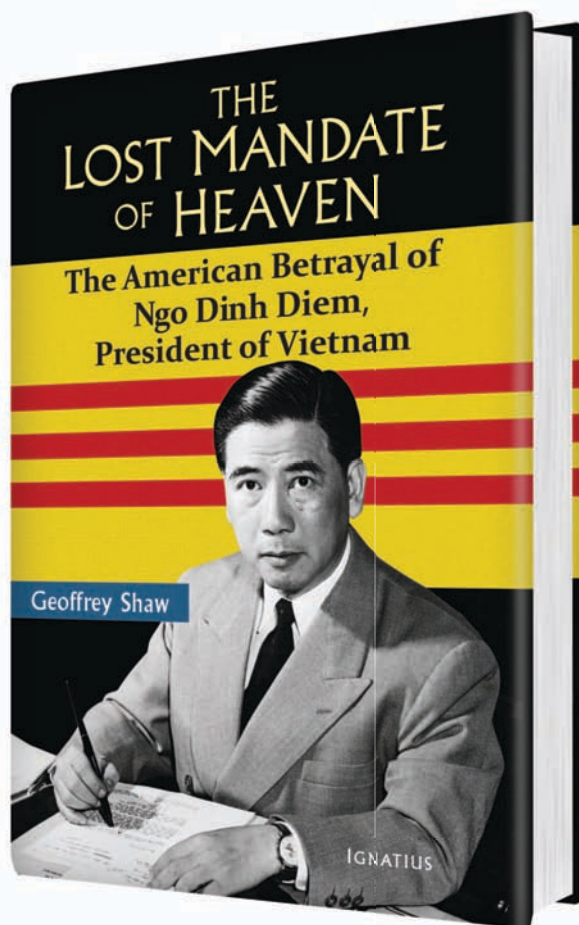
once faced with impending doom— The pattern of the ensuing Cold War was hauntingly similar: initial Western complacency, naïveté about the nature of the erstwhile wartime ally, precipitate post-war disarmament—and finally, during the Korean War, an abrupt remaking of the American military, characterized by the development of a sophisticated deterrent. There were grounds to be baffled at first, perhaps in the fashion of being ill-prepared for Hitler's fanaticism in 1939 or Stalin's betrayal of his wartime Western allies in 1946. After all, in the 1930s and 1940s, the Islamic Middle East had been enamored of secular wars. Nonetheless, once engaged, the panicked mobilization marked the fascism inspired by Nazi Germany. The United States almost immediately responded to radical Islam. The subsequent Pan-Arabism, Baathism, Soviet-inspired Communism, and the Khomeini revolution, and the appease-Palestinian nationalism were likewise embraced by the Carter administration—mostly secular in nature. And these ideologies similarly proved transient manifestations of the post-Vietnam era—illustrated how the United States was initially baffled by and indifferent to tribalism, poverty, statism, authoritarianism, anti-Semitism, and religious and cultural intolerance.

Mr. Hanson is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and at the National Review Institute. This article is adapted from remarks he gave upon receiving the William F. Buckley Jr. Prize in Dallas, Texas, on October 21, 2015.

At first the U.S. assumed that radical Islam was primarily an aberrant Iranian and Shiite phenomenon uncharacteristic of our Sunni and Wahhabist friends in the Gulf. Some Cold War-era analysts of the time believed that the Iranians were analogous to Marxist-inspired Palestinian terrorists of the 1960s and 1970s, even though the latter were secular and were funded and often trained by Moscow and its appendages. Later, leftists sought to cite proof of American culpability—colonialism, neo-imperialism, racism, capitalist exploitations, etc.—that might in some fashion contextualize the seemingly illogical anger of the Muslim world toward the United States.

In the 20-year interval between the Tehran hostage-taking and the cataclysmic September 11 suicide attacks, radical Islamists, of both the Shiite and Sunni varieties, declared a veritable war against the West in general and in particular the United States—most notably with the Beirut Marine-barracks/U.S.-embassy bombing (1983), the first World Trade Center bombing (1993), the Khobar Towers bombing (1996), the East Africa embassy bombings (1998), and the attack on the USS

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Geoffrey Shaw, Ph.D., received his doctorate in history from the University of Manitoba, with a focus on US diplomatic and military history in Southeast Asia. He was an Assistant Professor of History for the American Military University for 14 years, and has written and spoken widely about US military involvement in Vietnam and the Middle East.

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Author, *Killer Kane*

“A remarkably detailed, well-researched, and well-written book about President Diem. It took half a century for someone committed and brave enough to unravel the Machiavellian plot to kill him.”

NGHIA M. VO, Director of Saigon Arts, Culture, and Education Institute (SACEI)

Why, then, at the end of the 20th century, had terrorist movements reverted back to seventh-century fundamentalism? Why was it that the wealthier the petroleum-rich Middle East became, the more globalized—and Western-oriented—communications, entertainment, and popular culture grew, the more knowledge that the Islamic world gained of relative global wealth and poverty, and the more the post-Cold War United States proved postmodern in its attitude about the causes and origins of war, all the more did radical Islamists despise the West? Islamists apparently were confident either that Western economic and military power was a poor deterrent against their own supposedly ancient martial courage or that such material and technological power would never fully be unleashed by confused elites uncertain about their

bombing. A cultural war erupted over the causes of Islamic violence, with both Republican and Democratic administrations seeking some magical formula that might reassure the world's billion Muslims, in and outside the West, that the United States did not see any innate connection between Islam and Islamist terrorism. Such a profession was supposed to remind the Islamic world to police its own, on the assumption that there were no logical grounds for any Muslims to hate the U.S. The age-old antithesis—that the West did not much care what the non-West thought of it as long as it understood preemptory attacks against the West were synonymous with the aggressors' own destruction—was apparently unpalatable to a sophisticated and leisured public that even after 9/11 did not see the Islamic threat as intruding into the life of their suburb or co-op.

correct in reminding us that we still do not face from radical Islamic terrorists an existential threat analogous to those of the 20th century during World War II and the Cold War?

In the decade and a half after September 11, the Islamists have influenced Americans far more than we them—well aside from inflicting a level of destruction inside the United States, in New York and Washington, that neither Nazi Germany nor Soviet Russia was ever able to achieve. Everyday life has been radically altered, from using public transportation to entering a government building for minor business. Westerners are losing the propaganda war: While al-Qaeda and ISIS have matched their blood-curdling rhetoric with equally savage snuff videos, we have been emasculated by euphemisms. “Death to America” is matched by

In the decade and a half after September 11, the Islamists have **influenced Americans** far more than we them.

own degree of culpability for the mess they found themselves in.

In any case, deterrence was lost. A 20-year path of appeasement of radical Islam inexorably led to 9/11. Then, as with past aroused democracies, 2001 seemingly changed everything, as the West seemed to gear up to restore its security and strategy of deterrence. Almost every aspect of American life was soon altered by just a handful of Islamist planners in Afghanistan and their suicide henchmen in hijacked planes, even as economic recession followed the 9/11 attacks. Intrusive new security standards changed forever the way we boarded airline flights, took the train, and visited public buildings. The Patriot Act accorded intrusive powers of surveillance to government agencies to monitor communications that fit particular criteria learned from prior terrorist attacks.

These Patriot Act measures and their affiliated protocols played a key role in ensuring that in the subsequent 14 years there was no attack on the United States analogous to 9/11, despite horrific but isolated killings such as the Fort Hood massacre and the Boston Marathon

How, then, is the supposed war on Islamic-inspired terror currently proceeding, especially in comparison with past U.S. efforts in World Wars I and II and the Cold War? At first glance, it appears the realists were correct that Islamism is hardly an enemy comparable to the Nazis or Soviets. First, other than the case of Iran after 1980, the terrorists still have not openly and proudly assumed the reins of a large nation-state with a formidable arsenal. Second, for all the talk of the spread of WMD, they have not staged a major nuclear, biological, or chemical attack. Third, fracking and horizontal drilling inside the United States, along with petroleum price wars among Middle Eastern exporters, crashed the price of oil, robbing terrorists of petrodollars and aiding Western economies.

That price drop—coupled with a supposed Western exhaustion with war after the experience of Afghanistan and Iraq—has fooled Westerners into thinking the Middle East is now less strategically important than it has been in the past, as if most of the world were becoming as self-sufficient in oil and gas as is the United States. Are the realists

“workplace violence,” “man-caused disasters,” and “overseas-contingency operations.” Jihad is redefined by American-government officials as a personal spiritual odyssey and the Muslim Brotherhood as a largely secular organization. After the Danish-cartoon attacks and the *Charlie Hebdo* killings, fearful Westerners are voluntarily self-censoring in a manner that Islamists themselves do not have to enforce by direct coercion.

President Obama is not so much complacent as an appeaser of radical Islam—an identification he refuses to employ. Yet the president condemns Christianity by reminding us at prayer breakfasts of its violent Crusader roots, or he lists false glories of the Muslim world, as in his Cairo speech. Obama's rhetoric of the last seven years has been predicated on the false assumption that his own supposed multicultural fides and his father's Islamic connections would make him the perfect Western emissary to defuse radical Islam. This has not come to pass, as we see from the recent Paris mass murders. Never has the Middle East been more unhinged and never has the U.S. been more disliked by it. Westerners are as likely to

join ISIS as reformed terrorists are to enlist in the fight against the jihadists in their midst.

In other words, the Islamist threat is so far unquenchable because it has the West's number: Radical Islam understands that the more pre-modern it becomes, the more postmodern is the likely Western response—a situation analogous to a deadly parasite that does not quickly kill but slowly sickens a host that in turn scratches at, but does not kill, the stealthy tormenter. Obama has described ISIS as a “JV” organization and al-Qaeda as “on the run.” On the eve of the Paris attacks, he deprecated ISIS as “contained,” while Secretary of State John Kerry warned that its “days are numbered.” A supposedly right-wing video maker, not a pre-planned al-Qaeda assault, explained our dead in Benghazi. Such euphemism is not just symptomatic of political correctness and an arrogant assumption that postmodern Westerners have transcended the Neanderthalism of war, but also rooted in a 1930s-like fear of expending some blood and treasure now to avoid expending far more later.

The first decade and a half of the current phase of the Islamic war were characterized by insidious alterations in Western life to accommodate low-level but nonetheless habitual terrorist attacks. As long as the Islamists did not take down another Western skyscraper, blow up a corner of the Pentagon, or kill thousands in one operation, Westerners were willing to put up with inconvenience and spend trillions of dollars in blood and treasure on anti-terrorism measures at home and the killing abroad of thousands of Islamists from Kabul to Baghdad.

But conflicts that do not end always transmogrify, and the war on terror of 2015 is not that of 2001, much less that of 1979.

Time for now is on the Islamists' side. Not if but when Iran will acquire nuclear weapons is the question. Not if but when ISIS strikes a major American city is what's in doubt. As America abdicates from its role in the Middle East, Vladimir Putin creates an Iran–Syria–Hezbollah arc of influence, reassuring the terrified Sunni Gulf states that he is a far better friend—and could be a far worse enemy—than the United States.

More important, Russia, Iraq, and Iran—and the Gulf monarchies—could act in concert under the aegis of Putin and thereby control 75 percent of the world's daily exports of oil. It is also conceivable that ISIS could fulfill something akin to its supposedly JV notion of creating a caliphate, given that it has already carved out a rump state from Syria and Iraq. A nuclear Iran could play the berserker role with Russia of a crazy nuclear North Korea cuddling up to China. Meanwhile, our new relationship with Iran makes it hard to partner with moderate Sunni states against ISIS, given that the Iranians enjoy the bloodsport that ISIS plays among both Westerners and Sunni regimes.

In short, on four broad fronts—the emergence of terrorist nation-states, the acquisition of nuclear weapons, the global reach of terrorists, and the ability to alter global economic contours—the Islamists are making more progress than at any time in the last 35 years.

Was Thucydides, whose notions of democracy were echoed from Aristotle to Winston Churchill, correct that democracies in the eleventh hour galvanize to meet existential threats?

So far, not this time. During the Obama administration, radical Islam finally has grasped that the way to destroy Western societies is to employ Western political correctness against them, leading eventually to their paralysis—as long as the war is waged carefully, insidiously, and over decades. In their various rantings, Osama bin Laden and his successor Ayman al-Zawahiri referenced the Western failure both to enact campaign-finance reform and to address global warming—topics not usually associated with the agendas of radical Islam. While ISIS mowed down Parisians, Al Gore was on the top of the Eiffel Tower doing a marathon webcast about the existential danger of climate change and prepping for a Parisian global conference that will now take place amid the detritus of a recent mass terrorist attack—all echoing President Obama's assertion that the greatest danger to our security is carbon, not radical Islamic terrorism.

The war will be lost when listless and weak Westerners no longer realize that they are in a war but have largely become exactly what their enemies had envisioned them to be all along. **NR**

Floridians In New Hampshire

Jeb and Marco compete

BY TIM ALBERTA

Wolfeboro, N.H.

NEVER was the contrast between two presidential candidates clearer, even as its implications grew murkier.

On a brisk November night in this quaint north-country town, Jeb Bush stood inside the Wright Museum of World War II and spoke yearningly of “back in the day”—a time when Americans stood united against foreign enemies, when cable news shows didn't polarize the electorate, when primary contests weren't “food fights.”

His audience, some 150 locals seated in folding chairs, nodded and murmured in agreement. The median age was Medicare-eligible; nearly every attendee had white hair, though some covered it with caps commemorating service in the conflicts of epochs past. Flanked to his right by a 42-ton Pershing tank—used by the Allies 70 years ago to capture the Bridge at Remagen while invading the German interior—Bush told the story of his father, the Navy's youngest fighter pilot, getting shot down and eluding Japanese internment thanks to a serendipitous rescue by an American submarine. It was this generation, Bush told them—their generation—that made America truly great.

The next morning, 55 miles away, Marco Rubio took to a factory floor and stood behind a podium with a sign that read, “Restoring Strength for a New American Century.” To his left, standing two and a half feet tall and weighing 100 pounds, was a masterful bit of machinery: a TALON military robot developed to carry and fire heavy weaponry while detecting IEDs on the guerrilla fronts of Iraq and Afghanistan. Sleek and jet-black, the robot's foundation is identical to that of a Pershing tank, with rugged wheels enclosed by a heavy-duty track designed to traverse all terrains. Unlike the Arsenal-of-



Jeb Bush and Marco Rubio debate in Boulder, Colo., on October 28, 2015.

Democracy-era behemoths, though, the That is because, in the face of his ~~that~~ difference is amplified in Republi - TALON is powered by lithium-ion ~~batteries~~, two fundamentals of the race remain primaries, which traditionally skew teries and operated by remote control. unchanged: Older voters are well ~~disorder~~. In New Hampshire's 2012 GOP

Rubio explained that his host, the ~~composed~~ toward Bush, and New Hampshire ~~primary~~, 69 percent of voters were 45 or pany Granite State Manufacturing, was ~~has~~ a lot of them. older, according to exit polling.

producing this kind of innovative combat Polling this year—in New Hamp shire, This confluence of realities—New equipment to win the wars America ~~has~~ other early-primary states, and nation Hampshire's aging populatio the dis- yet to fight. “We cannot survive the ~~global~~—has shown Bush regularly perform proportionate tendency of older voters to perils of the 21st century with a military better among older voters than ~~wrote~~, and Bush's popularity among that built for the 20th,” he declared. As a ~~profit~~-broader electorate. For example, demographic—explains why half of the ical motif, it was consistent with ~~Franklin Pierce University~~ *Boston Herald* “Jeb Can Fix It” bus tour was spent in far- Rubio had preached the previous afterpoll of New Hampshire conducted in ~~filling~~ Carroll County, 90 minutes north of noon while addressing a roomful ~~October~~ pegged Bush's favorability—un the Manchester media market. A quarter Millennials at St. Anselm's College ~~favorability~~ rating among likely GOP ~~prof~~ all Carroll County residents are 65 or Manchester—right around the time ~~primary~~ voters at 57 percent to 37 percent, according to the Census Bureau, Bush's campaign bus was touring retire ~~but~~ among those 65 and older, it was nearly twice the national average. ment communities up north. 27 percent. That same week, Quinnipiac After months of dismissing any state

As Bush and Rubio crisscrossed New ~~released~~ an Iowa poll showing Bush's a must-win, Bush is pushing his Hampshire for 72 hours in the first ~~underwater~~ among likely Republican cauchips in on New Hampshire and mak- of November, this juxtaposition was ~~jars~~goers: 43 percent viewed him favoring little secret about it. Jesse Hunt, ring and highly instructive, crystallizingly, 51 percent unfavorably. But among Bush's state communications director, the contrast—thematically, stylistically, those 65 and older, the numbers were ~~and~~ significant resources have been rhetorically—between the two candi-roughly reversed: 52 percent favorable ~~reallocated~~ from his Miami headquar- dates. It is one that Rubio's team ~~relied~~ 40 percent unfavorable. ters to the early states as part of the

and is eager to emphasize as the can ~~New Hampshire~~ has the third-oldest campaign's recent shakeup, and noted paings jostle for supremacy among the ~~population~~ of any state, behind only ~~that~~ New Hampshire is the focal point, center-right Republicans who tradition- Maine and Vermont, according to Cen with twelve paid staffers on the ground, ally pick the party's nominee. For Bush's Bureau data from 2013. Its popula ~~are~~ than anywhere else. ~~Within~~ t who has underwhelmed voters and unde ~~tion~~ of residents 65 and older jumped ~~focus~~ on the Granite State, Bush's oper- delivered on expectations of monopo ~~8.7~~ percent just between 2010 and 2012 ~~on~~ has begun homing in on its most lizing the GOP's mainstream, the ~~band~~ has continued to rise since. This ~~dependable~~ demographic.

hope of winning this do-or-die state-~~reflected~~, naturally, in the state's voting- “These,” Hunt says, looking out over and restoring his viability as a nominee ~~age~~ population: Exit polls showed that ~~58~~ Bush's audience inside the Wright Mu - may lie in exploiting the other end of ~~open~~ent of New Hampshire residents ~~where~~, “are the reliable voters.”

polarity that has become essential to voted in November 2012 were 45 or older, was here, speaking to an elderly audi- Rubio's message. compared with 54 percent nationally ~~in~~ the oldest county of America's

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Questions For the Candidates

What the nominee should have to commit to

BY RAMESH PONNURU

REPUBLICANS should ask more from their presidential candidates.

That assertion runs counter to a common theme of political coverage, which is that the party's base demands that the candidates run so far to the right that they cannot win the general election. But that's not a plausible explanation of why John McCain and Mitt Romney lost. (Even if you accept the ideas that the primaries forced Romney to tell illegal immigrants to "self-deport" and that this statement hurt him with Hispanics, it wasn't his poor showing with Hispanics that cost him the election.)

And conservative voters have not actually asked Republican candidates to make many specific commitments. To a large extent, they approach the presidential primaries by asking which candidates are conservatives rather than by asking what conservative things they would attempt to do as president. These are related questions, but looking at the first in isolation from the second amounts to looking for badges of tribal identification.

There are obvious exceptions. Primary voters want the candidates to reflect them in being broadly pro-life, anti-tax, and pro-defense. Americans for Tax Reform asks candidates to pledge to voters that they will not raise taxes (a pledge that Republicans can take without losing any votes). Free-market groups have made the Export-Import Bank a litmus test, with the result that most of the presidential candidates say they would not support its renewal.

Some of the questions conservatives should ask are relatively open-ended. They should demand that their candidates explain how they would replace Obama care, for example, though the candidates could reasonably provide different answers. There are a lot of moving parts to health policy. (Most of the candidates, to

third-oldest state, that Bush embraced the very theme that Rubio aims to transcend: the past. Fielding questions on Medicare, Social Security, and veterans' care, Bush adopted a reflective and visionary tone. He spoke at length about his eight years of governing Florida, including the time he directed a local government agency to help "an elderly shut-in" get rid of a raccoon in her attic. He empathized with a curmudgeonly questioner who wondered why it's so hard these days to find kids willing to rake leaves for their parents. And Bush's standard line about his dad being "the greatest man alive" drew an unusually enthusiastic ovation.

At times, Bush sounded more presidential historian than presidential candidate. "The next president of the United States needs to be a true leader, the kind of leader we've counted on in difficult times," he said. "This is not the most difficult time in American history, by far. World War II was a difficult time. The Great Depression prior to that. The Civil War. And we've always counted on presidents who prayed to their Creator on bended knee, who had the strength and fortitude to stick with things, the humility to listen to people and to recognize it's not all about them."

The event couldn't have looked or sounded more different from Rubio's appearance earlier that day at St. Anselm's in Manchester. There, addressing an overwhelmingly youthful audience that had been warmed up with an unedited version of Tupac's "Changes," Rubio related to Millennials with talk of Candy Crush, student-loan reform, NFL football, Uber, and, of course, the forthcoming *Star Wars* film. It wasn't without substance; Rubio made his case that the old guard of politicians is peddling "20th-century solutions to 21st-century problems." America, he told them, "is in desperate need of leaders that understand life in the new economy."

Bush's ideal in prescribing global governance was somewhat different: "Think of American leadership in the context of this museum," he said in Wolfboro. "But for us, who? Who but the United States had the capability of freeing the world of the aggressive nature of Nazism and Fascism in the Pacific and in Europe? Only the United States can do this."

Heads continued to nod; an approving buzz cascaded through the room. It was,

in months of monitoring Bush on the campaign trail, among the most receptive audiences this reporter had seen. Attendees swore afterward that this Jeb Bush wasn't the same awkward shrinking violet they'd watched on the debate stage in Colorado a week before.

Voters like these, Bush allies argue, fit a twin profile: They are comfortable with his message and background (read: both governing experience and family record), while also reluctant to support another young senator on the heels of Barack Obama's presidency.

There are two dangers, however, in Bush's banking on older voters to put him over the top. First, the 65-and-older bloc doesn't always cast the decisive vote. John McCain, for example, won every age group except that one in New Hampshire's 2008 primary (losing it to Mitt Romney), though he still won the state. Second, older voters like Bush, but not as much as they like some of his rivals—especially Rubio.

Indeed, the same polling (including the two surveys mentioned above) that reveals Bush's relative strength among older voters also shows Rubio outperforming him—often by wide margins—among that demographic. Ultimately, then, the critical margin between the candidates could come down to broadness of appeal: Rubio's forward-facing message resonates across the electorate, even with its eldest segments, while Bush's backward-looking narrative (his Florida record, his family name) is attractive to older Republicans yet repellent to younger classes of primary voters.

There was one flicker of diversity at Bush's Wolfboro event, in the form of 23-year-old college student Jessica Simmons. Easily the youngest person in attendance, Simmons stood after Bush had fielded a dozen questions and explained that she is close to earning a psychology degree but can't get another student loan. Bush was sympathetic, using the moment to make a point about an outdated education system, and told her he was confident that she would succeed.

Simmons said afterward that she hadn't studied the candidates closely but was impressed with Bush. However, she noted, an older woman seated next to her had whispered some advice: "You should ask that question to Marco Rubio." **NR**

their discredit, have not yet given a detailed answer about Obamacare's replacement.) A candidate ought to tell us how he intends to reform the tax code and entitlements, too. Consider that the essay-test portion of the primaries.

But there are also some yes-or-no questions conservatives should ask, some simple and specific commitments they ought to press the candidates to make.

Would you impose the "Reagan rule on Title X?" Federal law prohibits family-planning funding from paying for abortion. The Reagan administration, in its last year, interpreted that law to mean that funds should not go to organizations that perform abortions. The Supreme Court later ruled that the administration was within its legal rights to follow that interpretation. Bill Clinton lifted the rule after he took office, and it has never been reinstated. Most Republican presidential candidates have said that they would seek legislation to cut Planned Parenthood off from federal funding. The Reagan precedent shows that presidents have freedom of action in this area even without new legislation. Jeb Bush pro-

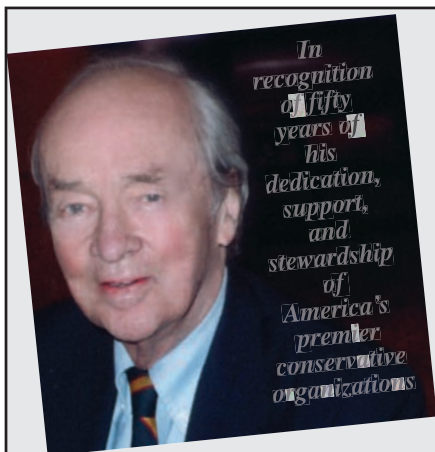
posed to reinstate the Reagan rule during one of the presidential debates. Conservatives should ask the other candidates whether they would, too.

Would you let states cut off Medicaid funds to abortionists? The Medicaid statute says that to keep federal funding, states must allow recipients to get services from any qualified provider. States are, however, allowed to set qualifications. Indiana sought to set its qualifications so as to keep Planned Parenthood from getting Medicaid funds. The Obama administration said no. A Republican president should say yes and seek legislation that says no federal money (from any program, whether Medicaid or Title X) will go to groups that perform abortions.

Would you put an end to President Obama's lawless policy of granting a quasi-legal status to millions of illegal immigrants? After saying repeatedly and correctly that he had no authority to grant legal status to illegal immigrants without congressional authorization, Obama essentially did just that on a purportedly temporary basis. His policy has been tied up in court, and some illegal

immigrants covered by the president's policies (including some who came here as minors) will have their protected status expire during the next administration. The next president should pledge not to renew that status without congressional approval. Even candidates who are sympathetic to the case for granting legal status to many of the affected people—such as Jeb Bush, John Kasich, and Marco Rubio—should say that they want it done the right way, through legislation.

Would you sign the First Amendment Defense Act if it were presented to you? Senator Mike Lee has introduced a bill to stop the federal government from taking any action against someone for acting on the belief that marriage is the union of a man and a woman (or that sexual activity is properly reserved to such a marriage). The Republican candidates all say they oppose same-sex marriage and support religious liberty; declaring their support for this legislation is a way to show they mean it—and to block the federal government from treating opposition to same-sex marriage as equivalent to segregationism.



JOSEPH WILLIAM DONNER is a World War II Navy veteran and a Princeton University graduate who has been active in conservative causes throughout his life. A long-serving member of the board of *National Review*, and a close friend of its founder, William F. Buckley Jr., Joe has also served as an Overseer of the Hoover Institution and the US Committee for Refugees, among many others. For 60 years he has been an active Trustee of the two Donner Family foundations, providing critical philanthropic support for organizations dedicated to the causes of liberty and American Exceptionalism. He and his beloved wife Pam are inveterate New Yorkers.

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Would you sign the Regulatory Accountability Act if given the chance? even if those students are misbehaving more than the others, and even if the As a result of executive orders that chief beneficiaries of the current discipline standards are well-behaved black agencies have to conduct cost-benefit and Hispanic students. The department analyses before issuing regulations. is basing its rules on a law that the Supreme Court has suggested is aimed at that requirement in law, extend it to actions with a discriminatory intent, not independent agencies those orders do not actions that have a disparate impact on cover, and subject regulations to more different racial groups. Conservatives judicial review. If the candidates aren't should ask GOP candidates whether willing to make this pledge, it would be their administrations will be in the business of encouraging racial quotas in public schools' detentions, suspensions, and the like.

Would you withdraw guidance documents from the Obama administration that encourage colleges and universities to adopt speech codes and to lower standards of proof for allegations of sexual misconduct? The Education Department has repeatedly used such guidance as a form of regulation—a form of regulation that dispenses with notice-and-comment procedures and attempts to dispense with judicial review as well.

(It also dispenses with the need to pass the new laws.) Through this process, Title IX, by which Congress forbade sex discrimination by federally funded institutions of higher education, has become a powerful engine of political correctness on campus. The Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights has told colleges that they should treat "any unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature," including "verbal" conduct, as harassment, even if "an objectively reasonable person" would not be offended. It has also told colleges that they should take action against people accused of misconduct even if the evidence in their cases is not "clear and convincing." And it has told them they may let accused appeal decisions without letting the presidential powers. Several of them year after his last address to Congress, accused do so. Conservative politicians would undo executive actions that go beyond the president's traditional prerogatives. The Obama years have seen accelerating deterioration of constitutional governance: unilateral policy-making by the president in areas where presidents had not been previously thought to have a free hand; executive branch rule-making designed to force compliance while evading accountability. The department has used the same letter method to get school systems to alter their disciplinary policies. Specifically, it has warned schools not to follow policies that result in black and Hispanic students' being disciplined more frequently than other students—

Would you end President Obama's policy of funding stem-cell research that destroys human embryos? Budgets adopted since 1996 have prohibited federal funding from going to research "in which a human embryo is destroyed."

President Obama has nonetheless authorized funding for research on stem cells derived from the destruction of human embryos. This was in keeping with a Democratic campaign during the George W. Bush administration according to which restrictions on funding were preventing cures to many terrible and widespread diseases. Such claims were always wildly exaggerated, and Representatives passed the 13th Amendment in doing so, Lincoln and the 38th Congress etched their places in the pantheon of courageous Americans who made the Union more perfect. And though it was unnecessary, Lincoln signed the amendment before it was sent to the states for ratification. He did so to mark for posterity his allegiance to the nation's founding principles and to the extension of them to black Americans.

Some of these pledges, if carried out, would involve signing laws, and others would require the use of well-established presidential powers. Several of them year after his last address to Congress, accused do so. Conservative politicians would undo executive actions that go beyond the president's traditional prerogatives. The Obama years have seen accelerating deterioration of constitutional governance: unilateral policy-making by the president in areas where presidents had not been previously thought to have a free hand; executive branch rule-making designed to force compliance while evading accountability. The department has used the same letter method to get school systems to alter their disciplinary policies. Specifically, it has warned schools not to follow policies that result in black and Hispanic students' being disciplined more frequently than other students—

Thank God And the GOP For the 13th Amendment

*One hundred fifty years have passed
since the abolition of slavery*

BY THEODORE R.
JOHNSON

ON December 6, 1864, less than one month after his re-election, President Abraham Lincoln sent to Capitol Hill what would be his final State of the Union address. As he neared the conclusion, he called for the House to pass, as the Senate had already done, a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery. He implored the lame-duck Congress to be bold before the session ended.

Congress answered the call. The next month, the Republican-plurality House of Representatives passed the 13th Amendment. In doing so, Lincoln and the 38th Congress etched their places in the pantheon of courageous Americans who made the Union more perfect. And though it was unnecessary, Lincoln signed the amendment before it was sent to the states for ratification. He did so to mark for posterity his allegiance to the nation's founding principles and to the extension of them to black Americans.

This December is the 150th anniversary of that historic event. To honor the philosophical roots of the Republican party, remind the nation of its role in our history, and reaffirm its commitment to racial equality, the GOP, particularly Republican members of Congress, should make by the president in areas where presidents had not been previously thought to have a free hand; executive branch rule-making designed to force compliance while evading accountability. The department has used the same letter method to get school systems to alter their disciplinary policies. Specifically, it has warned schools not to follow policies that result in black and Hispanic students' being disciplined more frequently than other students—

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Mr. Johnson is a doctoral candidate in public policy at Northeastern University and a former White House Fellow.

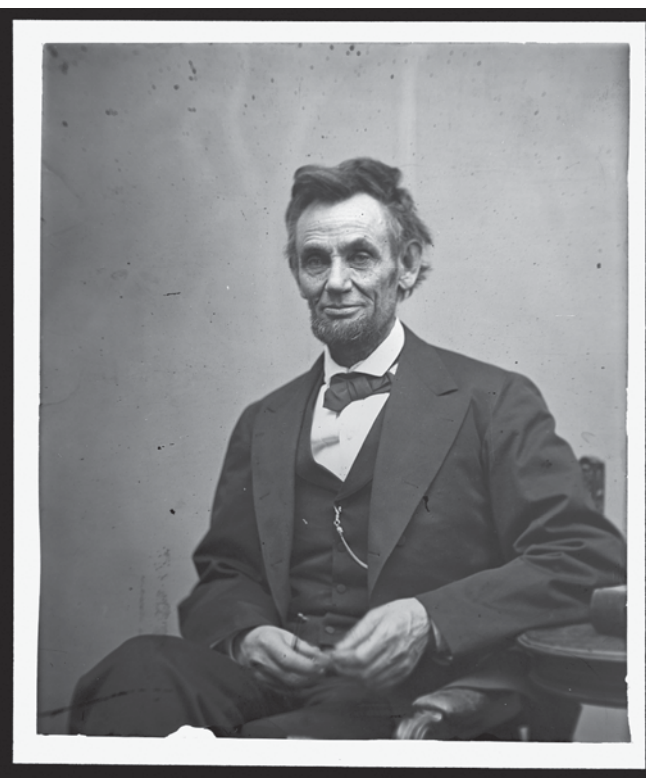
lead a national, non-partisan commemoration of the day it transformed America.

In Lincoln's words, "unanimity of action" is "almost indispensable." The commemoration should be inclusive, recalling a moment in American history when our policy matched our principles, and should encourage us to confront the hard truths about race that we face even today. A quick perusal of the headlines shows that race remains a prominent national issue, and polls show that it remains divisive. But certainly Americans can unite in observing the sesquicentennial of the national decision to end slavery.

Ratification of the 13th Amendment is the most consequential action our nation has taken since it won independence. The commemoration should recognize both the electorate who willed the end of slavery and the soldiers who gave their lives to preserve the Union. And it should hold in high esteem the strength, faith, and determination of black Americans who persevered despite their deprivation of the benefits of the self-evident truths that our nation was founded on. The ceremony should serve as a national rededication to the virtues that unite different people under a common cause.

While the historic occasion belongs to all Americans, Republicans should take the lead in organizing the commemoration, to communicate that their party shares the ideals of their forerunners who ratified the 13th Amendment. Let's face it: On race, the popular perception of the party is a problem. The party is not racist, but it cannot deny that it comes across as insensitive to the experiences of minorities, particularly black Americans.

Over the past 150 years, the nation has made enormous progress on race. The past few years have been marked by milestone anniversaries of monumental events—from the Emancipation Proclamation to the March on Washington and the March from Selma to Montgomery—when the nation was forced to confront racism. Republicans have either been absent from these remembrances or ceded leadership of them to independent orga-



nizers or Democratic officials. When that is coupled with deafening silence on race issues or with remarks by some in the party who label Black Lives Matter a movement advocating police killings and the Democratic party a plantation for black voters, it is clear that the Republican party has strayed from its roots.

It's time for the party of Lincoln to awaken and resume its leading role in American race relations. But the moniker "party of Lincoln" cannot be simply a historical claim. Faith without works is dead, and so too is the party of Lincoln if it is unwilling to acknowledge the plight of American citizens and take action where necessary to ameliorate it. So a ceremony would not be enough. The party should take a hard look at the challenges facing black Americans and specify how present-day Republicans will address them.

The facts are clear. According to nearly every socioeconomic indicator, from income to health, black Americans lag behind the rest of the nation. Social mobility for many black Americans is terribly difficult, making the American dream unattainable for many.

Republicans should make explicit, for example, how their proposals for criminal-justice reform follow from the principles of the Eighth and 13th Amendments, which permit involuntary servitude as criminal punishment but require that such

punishment not be cruel and unusual. They should also emphasize charter schools, home-schooling alternatives, and school-choice legislative proposals. These policies enjoy strong support in black communities, where quality of education is an important issue. The fastest-growing demographic of American entrepreneurs is black women, so Republicans should show how their economic plans and tax-reform proposals increase access to capital, which would enable black Americans to start their own small businesses and thereby reduce unemployment. Blacks have a higher military-participation rate, so Republicans should stress their positions on military pay, veterans' care and employment, and preservation of associated benefits for housing and education.

Suffering job and income losses, black workers are often the most affected by regulations that increase costs for businesses, so Republicans should show how a smarter regulatory structure is beneficial to them. Blacks are disproportionately victims of violent crime, so Republicans should show how they would make communities safer.

This is not identity politics. These are not special set-asides any more than Lincoln's advocating the 13th Amendment was a set-aside for liberty for black Americans. Rather, these measures address the basic question of who is entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They are designed to remove barriers to self-determination so that all citizens can make of their lives whatever their hard work and talents allow.

Following a White House official's rhetoric about "leading from behind," Republicans have seized on the phrase as an aspersion to cast on Democrats. On race relations, however, the phrase fits the GOP, which has ceded the moral high ground. But the party can reclaim it, in substance as well as symbolically, and the anniversary of the 13th Amendment is the perfect occasion. As Lincoln asked in his final formal address to Congress—he was referring to passage of the amendment—"May we not agree that the sooner the better?"

NR

Underground At Brown

A secret forum in which people can talk

BY JAY NORDLINGER

Providence, R.I.

LAST year, a student at Brown University established a secret forum with one purpose: to allow students to talk freely about possibly controversial issues. Think of that. At Brown, there is an underground group whose purpose is to allow kids to say what they ought to be free to say above ground.

The group came about in this way: Brown was to host a debate on the issue of campus rape. In one corner was Jessica Valenti, a radical feminist, and in the other was Wendy McElroy, a radical libertarian. It was suspected that McElroy would deny there was a “culture of rape.” And this was intolerable to some students, who protested mightily—in advance, mind you.

The debate came off, to Brown’s credit. The previous year, Ray Kelly was forced off the stage. New York’s police commissioner at the time, Kelly was trying to give a lecture entitled “Proactive Policing in America’s Biggest City.” The kids at Brown, some of them, were not interested in what he had to say—and denied everyone else the right to hear him say it.

But the debate about campus rape came off. Brown had taken mollifying steps, however. The university’s president announced that she opposed Wendy McElroy’s view—and scheduled a lecture for the same time as the debate. The lecture, by a Brown psychiatry professor, was called “The Research on Rape Culture.” Evidently, it was not enough that the debate would be a debate: a clash of views. There had to be a separate event, without a clash, or a disagreement.

Also, students set up a safe space for those who might attend the debate and be shaken by something they heard. A “safe space”? Yes. This space, in the words of Judith Shulevitz, writing in the *New York Times*, was a room “equipped with cook-

ies, coloring books, bubbles, Play-Doh, calming music, pillows, blankets and a video of frolicking puppies, as well as students and staff members trained to deal with trauma.”

One student was fed up—fed up with an atmosphere of illiberalism, fear, and nuttiness. That was Chris Robotham, a sophomore from Scituate, Mass., majoring in computer science and math. He created a Facebook group called “Reason@Brown.” You can set up three types of Facebook group: Public, Closed, or Secret. This one is secret. It provides a safe space (to coin a phrase) for the free exchange of ideas, online. A member can simply express his views without being condemned as a heretic or villain. Without being shouted off the stage. There is actual argument.

Now a junior, Chris tells me that he grew up arguing with his father. (Not a few children argue with their father.) “He and I spent a lot of time in debates about all sorts of issues. I was used to it, and I was disappointed to come to Brown and find that these debates were almost impossible. That could not be more antithetical to the mission of this university, or any university. What happens is, a view that questions the dominant view has to be bulldozed over.”

Was it really necessary for Reason@Brown to be secret? “I am willing to put my neck on the line,” says Chris, “and if people want to say I am some kind of *ist*, or a violent oppressor on account of my white masculinity, etc., that’s fine, that’s their prerogative, but I think there are a lot of people, including my freshman-year self, who would not be comfortable putting their neck on the line but who, to be perfectly frank, deserve to have the intellectual discussions promised to them in Brown’s advertising and for which they may be paying some six-figure amount.”

The group started when Chris asked five or so friends whether they would be interested in joining. Those students, in turn, asked others. Members have the right to invite others in. So, the group grows on this basis of referrals. It now has just above 100 members.

They are a diverse bunch, too, says Chris, meaning that they hold all sorts of views. What the members have in common is that they are willing to air and debate those views. Chris says that there are members supporting presi-

dential candidates from Sanders to Trump. A majority of the members will vote Democratic in 2016, he guesses. “But they’re more conservative than the general Brown population, which isn’t saying much.” He goes on to note that if censorship and intimidation were coming from the right, membership of this secret forum would be more liberal.

One member is Marie Willersrud, a junior from Oslo, Norway, majoring in business economics. She grew up in the social-democratic culture of her homeland—a culture that many find stiflingly conformist. (Many Norwegians, I mean.) She looked forward to going to the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave. She looked forward to happy, unbridled discussion. And she went, of course, to Brown.

“Marie!” I say. “Didn’t you know that you were going to one of the least free and open pockets in the whole, vast United States! What were the other options? Oberlin? Reed? Bennington?” She laughs appreciatively.

“I have a lot of fun conversations with Americans,” she says, “except when it comes to politics. I find myself in a place where a large percentage of the student body wants to shut down debates that include unpopular opinions, and the university backs them. This is not what I signed up for.”

She was amazed, in her freshman year, that the police commissioner of New York was booed and shouted off the stage, not permitted to speak. And what she often hears from students is “but”: “I’m for free speech, but . . .” There is always some excuse that disallows it.

Incredulous and disgusted at the same time, I ask, “Can you really not talk here, except on Reason@Brown?” Marie says, with dead seriousness, “I know very well in what company I can talk freely about things and in what company I should keep my mouth shut.” Chris chimes in, “I would second that.” Marie continues, “The number of times my freshman year I was told that I was being offensive . . .” “You’re kidding?” I say. Marie is the politest and friendliest of students. “Offensive for saying what?” “Just for being blunt,” Marie says.

There was a time when people prided themselves on being blunt and even



The Van Wickles Gates at Brown University

offensive—they went *out of their way* to give offense. They wore it as a badge of honor. I wonder whether the pressure to conform has ever been so great as it is now. (Even in Puritan times?)

Because of some recent reporting I have done—including this visit to Brown—I’ve learned some of today’s campus lingo. To say something that others might disagree with is to commit “violence.” You are “invalidating,” “marginalizing,” or “erasing” them. And you of course are making them “unsafe.” Also, students imagine themselves “oppressed,” when they are anything but. Recently, AAPI at Brown—this is a “collective” of Asian, Asian American, and Pacific Islander students—issued a statement claiming that the school newspaper “privileges writers who continue in the legacy of white supremacy, further marginalizing students already systemically oppressed by the University.”

Oppressed! Systemically! I point out to Chris and Marie that Brown students, whoever they are, are among the luckiest people on the face of the earth. “In human history,” says Chris, correctly. What ingrates they are, I continue: to be at this

renowned institution, on this beautiful campus, at the tippy-top of American society. Millions of people around the world would trade places with them in a heartbeat! “You can’t marginalize their suffering,” Marie chides me, with a twinkle.

So, Reason@Brown is now outed, by virtue of this interview. Only two members’ names will be known: those of Chris and Marie. But the group’s existence will be known. Why now? Because, as Chris explains, the atmosphere of censorship is getting no better, and is possibly getting even worse. At the same time, people on campus are getting bolder about talking back to it—the censorship, that is. They are speaking up for free speech.

Maybe a story about Reason@Brown will embolden them further. It might even disturb the consciences of the censors, a little.

In October, three Brown professors and a senior lecturer—fairly gutsy souls—wrote a letter together. They rapped the university’s administration for “timidity and cowardice in the face of voices for censorship and the suppression of ideas.” At stake, they warned,

“are the soul and character of a liberal and open university.”

Chris says that Reason@Brown should not have to exist—at least not in secret. “This is the administration’s fault for failing to endorse a culture of the free exchange of ideas. They are afraid of being in official opposition to various advocacy groups on campus. Their refusal to say no to these groups has created the need for Reason@Brown, which should otherwise be known as Brown University.”

He recognizes that the outing of Reason@Brown might bring him “some grief,” as he puts it. But he is “not especially concerned about that.”

His hope is that, one day, there will be no need for Reason@Brown. He reemphasizes: “This should not need to exist. I should not be giving this interview. I should be in my dorm room right now.” But here we are.

Over the years, I have covered a lot of political dissidents in unfree countries. I don’t say that Chris Robotham and Marie Willersrud are in the same category. Far from it. But it’s impossible not to recognize certain similarities. And I admire these two more than I can say. **NR**



Shall We Have a King?

The Founders said no, but today Congress and the courts aren't so sure

BY CHARLES C. W. COOKE

IF the passage of time were a reliable guarantor of increasing human freedom, we would expect history to look a little different than it does. In school, we would have learned that the Englishmen of Charles I's reign were better off than their Elizabethan grandparents; that the colonists implicated by the Declaratory Act had fairer prospects than those who had been governed with what Burke called "salutary neglect"; that the Germans of 1935 possessed an advantage over those of the *Bismarcksche Reichsverfassung*. That we did not learn any of this should tell us something. As Thomas Jefferson had it, "the natural progress of things is for liberty to yield, and government to gain ground." There are no new fights in politics.

Do we know this? In the United States, as in the rest of the Anglosphere, we seem to believe that we are the children of legislatures, not of kings; the beneficiaries of careful reasoning, not of iron will; the heirs to a safe political settlement immune to disintegration. That we are proud of our institu-

tions is understandable. But our unshakeable confidence in their permanence is not. There is nothing written in the stars that secures in perpetuity our free system of laws. There are no stone tablets upon which legislative supremacy and judicial integrity are guaranteed against usurpation. Men's hearts are no less ambitious this week than they were in the era of the pyramids.

As I write, the president of the United States is openly promising to finish off his second term with a flurry of extra-constitutional activity. By the power invested in his "pen and phone," Barack Obama intends to wield his "executive authority" in order to institute a set of environmental rules that the people's representatives have declined to grant him; to close the prison camp at Guantanamo Bay in direct defiance of Congress's will; and to further circumvent a series of immigration laws that have been on the books for decades.

These are no idle threats. In his second term alone, this president has rewritten by fiat some of the central portions

of his signature legislation, Obamacare; granted a series of their system a virus against which their Constitution was sup-
unauthorized waivers from the 1996 Welfare Reform Act to protect them. Worst of all: They have done so without
and instructed agencies such as the IRS and the EPA to crush the world.

forward with the enforcement of a series of administrative rules that simply cannot be justified by the texts of their enabling statutes. Most alarmingly of all, he has repeatedly made it clear that these actions are not the outwork-
ing of legal ambiguity, but a deliberate response to congressional inaction. Once upon a time, Obama insisted that he was “not a king” or an “emperor” or a “dictator,” and affirmed that his “job as the head of the executive branch is to carry out the law.” Now he justifies his behavior with talk of necessity and vows that if “Congress won’t act,” he will.

John Adams characterized the office that Obama holds as enjoying “the whole executive power, after divesting those badges of domination called prerogatives.” In assessment he was reflecting what might be regarded as

The Founders believed that when the laws that govern men’s fortunes are subject to the whims of the powerful, there can be no liberty. Are we at liberty?

Founders’ central conceit: that when the laws that govern men’s fortunes are subject to the whims of the powerful

than to the consent of the governed, there can be no liberty. Are we at liberty?

In his recent book *Administrative Law Unlawful?* Columbia University professor Philip Hamburger suggests that we are not. The Constitution of the United States, Hamburger contends, represented a conscious attempt to strip from this country’s political structure a host of the tools upon which monarchs and emperors historically relied: among them prerogative lawmaking, legislative enabling acts, suspending and dispensing powers, and the investment of legislative, judicial, and executive functions into one body. Alarmingly, Hamburger concludes that these features have gradually found their way back into the system—not because the Constitution has been overthrown, but because Washington, D.C., has been occupied by an invading force, but because over time we have constructed a “fourth branch” in addition to the original three, and have allowed the executive branch to take advantage of its vast array of unelected government employees who staff the administrative agencies that have sprung up around the country since the start of the 20th century and, slowly but surely, enjoyed ever-increasing power over our lives. Far from reflecting a benign, novel, and necessary change in the way our self-government, Hamburger submits, these entities are returning us to the bad old days of rule by fiat. Unlike the Prussians and the French, he argues, Anglo-American elites have historically insisted that the liberties of free men be restricted only by the legislature and the courts, not by the executive decree. By permitting a vast and unaccountable bureaucracy to grow in their midst, Americans have reimported

process on the grounds of its “complexity,” would steadfastly object. But now suppose that instead of being subject to laws that had been passed by the legislature, enforced by independent judiciary, our hypothetical suspect were left at the mercy of an unelected “violence agency” that had been empowered to make binding determinations as to (a) what constituted “stabbing,” (b) who was guilty of it, and (c) what their punishments should be. Would the opportunity for abuse be deemed flatly unacceptable, but we would wonder how exactly it was that a legislature saw fit to subdelegate to the executive both its own enumerated powers and a set of judicial functions to which it had no rightful claim.

Why, then, is this not the case elsewhere? Why do we shrug our shoulders when Congress bestows upon the executive branch extensive powers to promulgate, enforce, and adjudicate binding rules? Why do we not revolt when the IRS is given the task of writing its own laws in-house (we used to call this “prerogative”) and enforcing them outside the courts (we used to call this “consolidation of power”)? Why is there no great uproar when HHS and USCIS willfully deflected a benign, novel, and necessary change in the demand of unpopular provisions of the law to aid the president’s reelection bid (we used to call this “suspending”) or hand out onerous requirements to favored groups (we used to call this “dispensing”)?

More important of all, why are we not up in arms when the president openly abuses his position as the head of the bureaucracy in order to circumvent Congress’s explicit will? When left-wingers such as Georgetown Law School’s Jonathan

Turley are warning that Barack Obama has now become “the very danger the Constitution was designed to avoid,” should our ears not perk up? Our Founders’ ancestors in Britain spent centuries trying to rid their constitutional structures of opportunities for abuse. Why are we so indifferent to their return?

THE usual answer given to those who pose this question is that the contemporary administrative state is rendered inevitable by the complexities of modern life, and that all principled objections are therefore rendered moot. Woodrow Wilson, who was openly disdainful toward the American system of government as it had been handed down to him, made this case repeatedly, writing as early as 1887 that the “difficulties of governmental action” that had been seen “gathering in other centuries” were “culminating in our own” and desperately needed to be addressed. His proposed fix was for Congress to delegate some of its rule-making powers to the bureaucracy.

From the Reagan administration onwards, American presidents have come to use their control of federal agencies as kings once used their crowns.

For too long, Wilson contended, the state had been bound by rules that were appropriate for the 1790s but not for his era; it was time to elevate “administrative study and creation” above traditional notions of representation and consent. Anticipating the charge that he was coming out against democracy itself, Wilson struck a defensive pose. “Self-government,” he argued, “does not consist in having a hand in everything, any more than housekeeping consists necessarily in cooking dinner with one’s own hands.”

At worst, this reasoning is a throwback to the Roman civil law that the Founders had abhorred and the Prussians idolized and an explicit rejection of the anti-dictatorial instincts of Anglo-American liberalism. Which tyrant, we might ask, does not make a similar case in pursuit of greater power?

At best, Wilson’s argument is a good-faith but terribly naïve attempt to make government “work.” When the Supreme Court rules, as it did in 1989, that in an “increasingly complex society, replete with ever changing and more technical problems, Congress simply cannot do its job absent an ability to delegate power under broad general directives,” it is echoing the contention of men who believed that it was important to take certain questions out of the political realm so that they might be better answered.

Somewhere within this contention there is a kernel of truth. If the federal government is to work effectively, at least *some* delegation will have to be permitted. But while it is one thing to acknowledge that Congress does not have the time to engage every small-ball question, it is quite another to endorse legislators’ filling our laws with endless invitations to executive caprice. Here, as elsewhere, to accept that occasional exceptions must be granted is by no means to demolish the rule. There is a difference between a legislature’s charging the

executive with certain narrowly specified tasks and a legislature’s delegating broad legislative powers to that executive. Slowly but surely, we have forgotten this.

Today it is evident that promises of apolitical rule-making have gone unrealized and that delegation of legislative authority is not the exception but the rule. Worse still, the dream of an impartial, virtuoso-driven bureaucracy has been cast aside in favor of monarchism. In 2015, the bureaucracy does not exist as a hive of expertise held aside from the hurly-burly of partisanship and ideology, but as a weapon that is wielded by the incumbent executive and insulated from congressional pushback. From the Reagan administration onwards, American presidents have come to use their control of federal agencies as kings once used their crowns. If a given commander-in-chief doesn’t like the substance of a given law, he claims that it is vague and issues a new rule to “fix” it; if his signature legislative achievement isn’t working so well, he suspends or dispenses with its unpopular or problematic provisions until the politics improve,

regardless of whether the statute accords him such discretion; if the other branches will not play ball, he fulfills their roles for them.

Worse, he is aided and abetted in doing so by the very institutions the Constitution anticipated would stop him. In theory, Congress should be able to limit the bureaucracy’s potency by repealing or amending its grants of power and by limiting the types of instances in which it subdelegates its judgment. In practice, the rise of ideologically unified parties has rendered this an impossibility. When Congress and the White House are run by politicians with the same aims, there is little incentive to roll back the frontiers of executive authority. And when they are not, the dissenters hardly ever have the votes to override the president’s veto. If Americans wish to change the status quo, they will need to start electing politicians who are as committed to protecting the powers of their branch as they are to their agendas (this will be extremely difficult) and to insist that oversight legislation such as the REINS Act (which forces Congress to take a vote on especially expensive regulations) makes it into law.

The judiciary has not helped matters. Under the *Chevron* doctrine, propounded in 1984, the Supreme Court has routinely granted federal agencies broad latitude to interpret Congress’s will, on the presumption that if those agencies abuse or overextend the power they have been granted, legislators will step in and stop them. But because legislators have proven themselves incapable of supervising the administrative archipelago, a power vacuum has emerged into which the executive has been all too happy to step. Justice Clarence Thomas, who objects vehemently to the judiciary’s reticence in this realm, charges that his branch has “overseen and sanctioned the growth of an administrative system that concentrates the



power to make laws and the power to enforce them in the hands of a vast and unaccountable administrative apparatus that finds no comfortable home in our constitutional structure.” *Chevron* must be overturned.

In our wider political culture, objections such as Thomas’s tend to be met, if at all, with the counterargument that, because the United States is a democracy, its administrators can pose no serious threat to the people. If the bureaucracy were to become egregiously tyrannical, this argument goes, either the elected president or the elected Congress would act. That neither has done so must reflect some degree of public satisfaction.

This rejoinder, alas, is a poor one. If, as the American system presumes, we all have a right to a voice in making the laws that limit our freedom—and if there is a branch for which we vote that is charged with determining those laws—

nothing short of tyrannical for the state to deny us that right. The United States is a constitutional republic, replete with a set of rules that govern how power may be wielded and by whom. There exists no provision within its codified order that ties the power enjoyed by each branch to that branch’s transient popularity. If there is a constitutional problem within the scope of the administrative state, it obtains regardless of public opinion polls. As one would not submit that a president’s 60 percent approval rating has invested him with the power to change the tax rates or to issue judicial opinions, so one should not assume that the problems attendant to administrative overreach evaporate because 51 percent of the public is on board. If Philip Hamburger is correct to argue that Article I does not permit any subdelegation of the “legislative powers that have been granted”—and I think he is—he is correct in the perspective of the electorate’s will.

And if Hamburger is wrong, and the Constitution’s silence on subdelegation should be taken to imply permission? We should still be concerned. Seductive as it may sound, the claim that the administrative state is subject to meaningful democratic oversight is in practice rather weak. By its nature, the modern bureaucracy is a quasi-permanent force, swathed in which remain in operation regardless of who holds elective office and with what brief. For the administrative apologists to contend that our contemporary rule-makers are legitimate because they were empowered by those who elected them at one point elected will simply not cut the mustard. Not in Washington’s time, we write our laws down so that those who are bound by them know what they are bound by. There is no advantage to our doing so if the men tasked with enforcing them are permitted to suspend them or to fill out their meaning as their political desires demand.

Which is all to say that Woodrow Wilson & Co., thing by. But Master Nicholas Christakis refused to be cowed. His recipe for political liberty is as it ever was. For men to display the law must be difficult to change, and it must be changed only by those whom we send to represent us; it must be

universal and comprehensible in its application; it must be limited in its scope (by both hard rules and soft conventions); it must be contrived, executed, and overseen by parties in specialized functions are clearly set apart from one another. These conventions took a long time to develop, and they will take a long time to forget. But if they are circumvented and egregiously enough, forgotten they will eventually

There is always a crown beyond the horizon.

NR

Helen Andrews is a researcher at the Centre for Independent Studies in Sydney, Australia.

The Holy Spirit Comes to Campus

Social justice and the revivalist tradition

BY HELEN ANDREWS

THE progressive resurgence that began sometime between Brendan Eich’s resignation from Mozilla and the byburning down of the Ferguson QuikTrip has turned culture-war maypole. When the Confederate flag came down over the state capitol in Columbia—South Carolina!—that was part of the *Dukes of Hazzard* from its broadest lineup over the roof decal of *General Lee*, that was another. A cable channel that shows four hours of *Gunpowder* runs is not the Berkeley sociology department. Then the Memphis city council crossed the crucial messing-with-corpses threshold, voting in July to exhume from a public park, and relocate the remains of a Confederate general and his wife. Two weeks later, protesters calling themselves the Commission on Religion and Racism attacked the grave with shovels because the contaminating couple had not been removed fast enough. Next time said the ringleader, “we are going to bring the backhoe.” College students were on summer vacation while these stories unfolded, but obviously the campus Left was not about to yield its place in the vanguard of political correctness to the likes of the Memphis city council. The first campus to erupt once mistletoe was over was Yale, where, in default of more serious grievances, activists had fixated on making sure no one’s Halloween costume featured a culturally insensitive sombrero, kumono, or feathered headdress. On November 5, about a hundred students were gathered on the main quad chalking slogans (“Our culture is not a costume”) on the sidewalk when the dean passed by. He stopped to listen and ended up staying for three hours. “Please know that I have heard your stories and I’ll leave them unchanged,” he assured them. Flushed with this success, a group of students returning to one dorm tried the same gambit on their house master, who, like the dean, just happened to be walk-

when your cousin tells you he *was* *literally minding his own business* when the cop started hassling him you let it pass to spare his dignity, but these Belmont kids omit the grain of salt.

One new development is how easily administrators are caving. Why did the Yale girl's expletive-filled tirade result in an apology from Christakis ("I'm genuinely sorry to have disappointed *myself*") and not her immediate pointed you. I've disappointed *myself*") and not her immediate proximate cause is the Holy Spirit. In the same way, sympathizing? The rising college price tag surely has something to do with it: Students paying \$50,000 a year feel entitled to throw their weight around. But the activists have also benefited from time and not another. Let us grant that the Holy Spirit (or the the same loophole that has protected every revival in American history: They can't condemn you for getting serious about beliefs that everyone else is supposed to share.

There is no a single item on the Yale demand list that would be shocking to read in the alumni bulletin. Increased funding for mental-health services, naming the new residential hall after a person of color—did radicals write this or did the development office? A Georgetown professor spoke for more than just Catholics when he said of the sit-in, "This is what I teach." People who are abnormally intense about their beliefs tend to make their co-religionists feel ashamed, but there is a world of difference between being a fanatic they are ashamed of and a purist they are ashamed by. The latter is a sweet spot occupied by saints, prophets, and every other established authority in America). In her memoir,

That is why there is a limit to how much can be gleaned from listening to what these activists say. Their slogans are drawn from the ideological air supply. They seize on whatever grievances are closest to hand simply for the sake of having a grievance. If weren't one damn thing, it'd be another—as can be seen from the way the latest contagion has jumped from campus to campus regardless of local conditions. *He* driving compulsion to complain is the phenomenon here, not the complaints.

This is also typical of revivals. By definition, a revival has no obvious cause. New enthusiasm for an old message seems to come out of nowhere, unconnected to anything like a war or a national crisis—people just get religion all of a sudden. Christian historians who have examined the underlying causes of revivals have been obliged to admit that, in a sense, their proximate cause is the Holy Spirit. In the same way, sympathizing? campus radicalism is fully explained by the reality of structural racism. But something makes revivals occur at one time and not another. Let us grant that the Holy Spirit (or the the same loophole that has protected every revival in American history: They can't condemn you for getting serious about beliefs that everyone else is supposed to share.

When emotions run this high, there is usually fear in back of today's college students have been raised to believe that they must navigate the world without assuming any shared values or abonds of community with anyone they meet, and that is enough to scare anyone. Attempts to quantify the Millennial mindset have uncovered a generation that is isolated (single people outnumbered married ones for the first time in 2014, and an increasing share of personal interactions are conducted online instead of face-to-face) and untrusting (Gap and Harvard polls show rock-bottom trust in churches, Congress, the professions, and every other established authority in America). In her memoir,

Lena Dunham quotes a friend complaining of a no-good ex, "How could someone who cares so much about social justice care so little about my feelings?" What I hear in that quote is a girl who is desperate for something, anything, that can serve as a reliable guide to who is a good person. Not an unreasonable thing to want in a world where you feel that no one's good faith can be taken for granted. Certifying that someone is a trustworthy person is precisely the role that evangelical religion served in the Second Great





Awakening. It is no coincidence that the “burned-over district,” where Finney and his fellow revivalists had their greatest successes, was in upstate New York after the advent of the Erie Canal. The explosion of trade meant that people moved around a lot more. Towns such as Rochester started seeing population turnover of 80 percent in six years, and diaries of the period are full of complaints that you just don’t know whom it’s safe to do business with anymore. At the same time, cottage industry was being replaced by the factory model, which meant that instead of living in their masters’ houses as boarders, employees now lived in their own houses and their own neighborhoods. These two changes left the average upstate New Yorker’s social world suddenly denuded of people he felt confident he could trust.

The other common thread linking the various American revivals is the sudden disappearance of a longstanding mainstay of adulthood. The First Great Awakening started among the first generation of young New Englanders to be told that there was not enough land available for them to be given their own plot when they came of age. The Second Great Awakening coincided with a bigger upheaval than a land shortage: the final demise of the Jeffersonian dream. It used to be that even an unambitious worker expected to end his life on a homestead of his own.

Something similar is happening in our present culture. American rights (OCR) have used an implausible reinterpretation of a college degree used to certify that a person had “made it,” 1972 civil-rights law to impose mandates unimagined by the no longer does. The result is status anxiety—which helps launch the revival.

If this latest spasm really is a kind of revival, is it a bad thing? To judge by their after-effects, revivals seem at a glance to be highly salutary. The First Great Awakening gave us the American Revolution, inasmuch as it was the truly national event in the country that would become the United States, and the sense of common identity it forged would later flower into patriotism. As for the Second Great Awakening, it ended slavery. Abolitionism was in many ways merely a sequel to Finneyite revivalism, having taken from revivalism its passion, its institutions (such as Oberlin), and its methods. The emotional excitement that the revivals inspired also whetted the northern public’s appetite for other forms of avocational righteousness that could provide the same moral thrill.

If each bout of national soul-searching translated into one labeled “resolve,” good for the elimination of one national evil that would be a mark in revivalism’s favor. But really it was a lucky fluke that the radicals of the 1830s had such a moral opposition to blow the whistle and fight back. If slavery had been abolished earlier, there just would have been that many more campaigners against Sunday mail, that many more members of the Oneida community. In his *History of American Revivals* (1904), Frank G. Beardsley simply prohibits sex discrimination in federally funded education. It has most famously been used against gender discrimination in college athletics and, more recently, in scientific and technical fields, but in the act’s first 39 years, no administration of claimed that Title IX gave the federal government authority to micromanage university disciplinary procedures. Barack Obama and his appointees adopted a radically different approach. In April 2011, the OCR sent college administrators a

When it comes to due process on campus, Republicans in Congress, who campaigned on vows to rein in the Obama administration’s abuses of executive power, have largely acquiesced in its bureaucratic imposition of quasi-judicial tyranny. For more than four years, the White House and the Education Department’s Office for Civil Rights (OCR) have used an implausible reinterpretation of a 1972 civil-rights law to impose mandates unimagined by the law’s sponsors. It has forced almost all of the nation’s universities and colleges to disregard due process in disciplinary proceedings when they involve allegations of sexual assault. Enforced by officials far outside the mainstream, these mandates are having a devastating impact on the nation’s universities and on the lives of thousands—almost certainly soon to be hundreds or thousands—of falsely accused students. One might have expected an aggressive response by House Republicans to such gross abuses of power—including subpoenas, tough oversight hearings, and corrective legislation. Instead, most of them have been mute. In the Senate, meanwhile, presidential candidate Marco Rubio of Florida, Judiciary Committee chairman Charles Grassley of Iowa, and rising star Kelly Ayotte of New Hampshire have teamed with Democratic demagogues Kirsten Gillibrand of New York and Claire McCaskill of Missouri in co-sponsoring a bill that would make matters even worse. The authors of this article are not partisan critics. One of us is an independent, the other a Democrat who twice voted for Obama and donated to his presidential campaign. But when the president and his party go rogue, it is the duty of the loyal opposition to blow the whistle and fight back. The Obama administration’s crusade against due process for students accused of sexual assault has relied on Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972, a brief, unadorned provision that prohibits sex discrimination in federally funded education. It has most famously been used against gender discrimination in college athletics and, more recently, in scientific and technical fields, but in the act’s first 39 years, no administration of claimed that Title IX gave the federal government authority to micromanage university disciplinary procedures. Barack Obama and his appointees adopted a radically different approach. In April 2011, the OCR sent college administrators a

Until Proven Guilty

The vanishing of due process in campus rape tribunals

BY STUART TAYLOR JR. & KC JOHNSON

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Mr. Taylor is a writer based in Washington, D.C. Mr. Johnson is a history professor at Brooklyn College and the CUNY Graduate Center. They co-authored a book about the false accusation of rape against Duke University lacrosse players.

19-page “Dear Colleague” letter that ordered colleges and universities that receive federal funds (as almost all do) to change their disciplinary procedures regarding sexual assault. Each of the required changes—reducing the burden of proof in campus sex cases (and only in those cases) from “clear and convincing evidence” to “preponderance of the evidence,” introducing a form of double jeopardy by allowing accusers to appeal not-guilty findings, and demanding accelerated investigations that hamper the ability of accused students to gather evidence to defend themselves—increased the likelihood of guilty findings.

Worst of all, the letter “strongly” discouraged institutions from allowing an accused student to cross-examine his accuser. And a 2014 missive from the OCR threatened schools that allow such cross-examination—“the greatest legal engine ever invented for the discovery of truth,” as the Supreme Court has repeatedly called it—with a charge of “perpetuat[ing] a hostile environment,” which is illegal.

Over the four and a half years since the first letter, the White House and the OCR have escalated, in ways too numerous to

In mid September, the House Education and Workforce Committee convened its first hearing on campus rape. North Carolina Republican Virginia Foxx, who chaired the hearing, sounded like the OCR’s Lhamon in her opening remarks, citing the resoundingly discredited claim that one in five women is sexually assaulted while at college. Even though the majority Republicans selected three of the four witnesses, only one, Joseph Cohn of the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, unequivocally defended campus due process.

The hearing’s climate was captured by Representative Jared Polis (D., Colo.), who asserted: “If there are ten people who have been accused, and under a reasonable-likelihood standard maybe one or two did it, it seems better to get rid of all ten people.” In a scene that would have made the framers of the Constitution weep, campus-rape activists in the hearing room applauded this effusion. (Polis later issued a half-hearted retraction.)

Meanwhile, powerful Senate Republicans have jumped onto Obama’s anti-due-process bandwagon. Six of them, led by Rubio, Grassley, and Ayotte, joined Gillibrand, McCaskill, and four other

This situation cries out for legislative oversight, but the Republican response to the administration’s lawless evisceration of campus due process has been puny.

detail here, their attacks on due process—and on freedom of speech and academic freedom—in the guise of punishing sexual harassment. No federal law or court decision provides a grain of support for such bureaucratic tyranny. This situation cries out for legislative oversight, but, despite controlling the House since 2011 and the Senate since this January, the Republican response to the administration’s lawless evisceration of campus due process has been puny.

Congress has subjected Obama’s two heads of the OCR—assistant secretaries Russlynn Ali and, since 2013, Catherine Lhamon—to just six minutes of challenging questions, all in a June 2014 oversight hearing, when Tennessee senator Lamar Alexander quite effectively pressed Lhamon to explain how her agency could make law by merely sending “detailed guidance for 22 million students on 7,200 campuses.” Stressing that the “guidance” could be no more than “your whim,” Alexander asked: “Who gave you the authority to do that?”

“With gratitude, you did, when I was confirmed,” shot back Lhamon, oozing disdain for the former secretary of education. Six committee Democrats defended Lhamon, and no other Republican senator even attended the hearing.

Apart from Alexander’s efforts, virtually the only congressional resistance to Obama’s campus agenda has come from House Republicans Matt Salmon (Ariz.), Pete Sessions (Texas), and Kay Granger (Texas). They recently introduced the Safe Campus Act, which would commendably cripple the Obama administration’s efforts to channel rape cases away from law enforcement and into college disciplinary proceedings. It would also ensure somewhat fairer hearings. This proposal has the support of the National District Attorneys Association, civil-liberties advocates, and families who say their sons have been harmed by false accusations and railroaded by campus kangaroo courts.

Democrats in co-sponsoring the benign-sounding but dangerous Campus Accountability and Safety Act (CASA).

These Republicans are keeping bad company. Gillibrand, for example, published two statements branding a Columbia University student a “rapist” even though he had been cleared by the university and the police had found no basis for charging him. McCaskill, ignoring two generations of progress in the way police and prosecutors approach rape allegations, oddly asserted that “the criminal-justice system has been very bad, in fact much worse than the military and much worse than college campuses, in terms of addressing victims and supporting victims and pursuing prosecutions.”

With key Republicans along for the ride, McCaskill and Gillibrand produced a bill designed to advance the administration’s agenda. Its language presumes the guilt of all students accused of sexual assault by repeatedly calling accusers who have not yet substantiated their claims “victims,” without the critical qualifier “alleged.” CASA would also order colleges to provide a “confidential advisor” for these “victims,” with no comparable help for the accused. And it would require universities to publish data on the outcomes of their campus sexual-assault cases (which only Yale does now), apparently in the hope that doing so will invite Title IX complaints against any college that finds an insufficient number of accused students guilty.

Further, McCaskill has said that CASA, by making adjudication processes uniform for all institutions, is designed to help “remove the underpinning of . . . lawsuits” by accused students who say they were railroaded. No wonder McCaskill believes that “victims” might see themselves as “better off doing the Title IX process” than going through the criminal-justice system.

The *Washington Examiner*’s Ashe Schow asked each sponsoring senator’s office how CASA would ensure due process for accused students. An Ayotte spokesperson declined to

answer Schow's questions, justifying the senator's co-sponsorship by repeating the canard that one in five college women is sexually assaulted.

A Rubio spokesperson replied, "This bill does not address this issue." When asked whether college officials or law enforcement would have the most authority to investigate allegations, the spokesperson responded: "The victim will have the most authority." This reflected (at best) an astonishing misunderstanding both of the need for impartial adjudication of such serious charges and of the fact that at the investigative stage there is no "victim"; there are an accuser and an accused.

Why have Republicans abandoned their duty to expose and oppose Obama's disregard for basic fairness on the matter of campus tribunals for alleged sexual assault? Part of the reason is fear of the "war on women" demagoguery that greets any Republican challenge to any Obama-administration policy involving gender. In addition, some social conservatives seem intent on taking advantage of the current alarm about sexual relations on campus to try to restore traditional gender norms there—a lost cause. And protecting the civil liberties of people accused of violent crimes has never been a high priority for most Republicans, who (like most other Americans) remain ignorant of both the railroading of innocent students and the radical nature of Obama's campus agenda. Most have been misled by the administration's allies in politics, academia, and the media to believe three myths: that a campus rape epidemic exists, that it's getting worse, and that almost all accused males are guilty.

None of these things is true. While rape is a very serious problem for women in their late teens and 20s, the best data show that roughly one in 30 (not one in five, as Obama and his allies claim) women are sexually assaulted while in college; that they are safer on campus than off; that the campus rape rate has plunged since 1997; and that false or likely false accusations are not uncommon, albeit impossible to quantify with confidence. On the last point, accusations against innocent students seem to be increasing at colleges, where accusers are urged by campus sex bureaucrats, professors, and activists to report dubious or simply false allegations. Institutions of higher learning also tend to define rape and sexual assault far more broadly than either the criminal law or common understanding, as in the suggestion that sex with a partner who in any degree is intoxicated constitutes sexual assault.

Far from acquiescing in "rape culture" as sensationalized by the media, America's universities are in the grip of a dangerous presume-guilt-and-rush-to-judgment culture, driven by the Obama administration. An entire generation of college students is learning to disregard due process and the dispassionate evaluation of evidence. And dozens of clearly or at least probably innocent students, whose cases we will detail in a book we are now writing, have been branded sex criminals, been railroaded out of their universities, and seen their hopes and dreams ruined.

Their persecutors include Amherst, Brandeis, Colgate, Columbia, Harvard, Miami of Ohio, Michigan, Michigan State, Middlebury, Occidental, St. Joseph's, Swarthmore, the University of California–San Diego, the University of North Dakota, the University of Tennessee–Chattanooga, Vassar, and Washington and Lee, among others. And given the opacity of the college disciplinary process, those cases are almost certainly just a small part of the total, as hundreds of other similar injustices remain veiled in secrecy.

How can Republicans improve on their lamentable acceptance of these Obama-driven abuses? Electing a president pro-

tection of campus due process would be the best hope, but it also seems the most unlikely. No Republican presidential candidate has spoken up for campus due process, and Senator Rubio appears to be part of the problem, not the solution. Of course, Hillary Clinton likely would make things even worse.

Taking the Obama OCR to court also offers only limited hope. While the courts have upheld some lawsuits filed against universities by falsely accused and wrongly expelled students, the obstacles to suing federal agencies such as the OCR for abusing their power are almost insuperable. And pro-due-process legislation, such as the Safe Campus Act, is probably doomed in the Senate even if it can clear the likes of Virginia Foxx in the House.

But there is still much that an awakened Congress and state governments can do to limit the damage, to mobilize public opinion in support of fairness, and to prevent demagogues such as Gillibrand and other Obama allies from doing to the criminal law what they have already done to campus discipline. Senator Alexander has made a start by focusing on drunk-with-power bureaucrats wildly overreaching their authority. In a September 23, 2015, hearing, he extracted from Amy McIntosh, a deputy assistant secretary of education, the admission that "guidance that the department issues does not have the force of law." This after more than four years during which the OCR had enforced its "guidance" letters to universities as though it did have such authority.

Republican-run oversight committees should put Catherine Lhamon on television at every opportunity. Members could start by asking her about her recent, preposterous suggestion that because colleges "are equipped to investigate . . . plagiarism or drug dealing," they are competent to police alleged sex crimes. Plagiarism is not a crime, let alone a violent one. And it's hard to imagine how colleges could even begin to investigate a serious criminal offense such as drug dealing.

Oversight committees also should demand documents from the administration regarding the origins of the 2011 "Dear Colleague" letter. How much was the White House involved? Was this part of Obama's political strategy of mobilizing the Democratic base by aggressively using executive power to promote their causes? Did anyone worry about the certainty that innocent as well as guilty accused students would be expelled as rapists? What did the document's drafts say?

Why has the OCR told universities that they can't require sexual-assault accusers to report their complaints to police? Do any other federal agencies discourage reporting felony offenses to law enforcement? Does the administration hold the view that police are hostile to victims? Why the almost exclusive focus on alleged victims at colleges, and not on the far more numerous, less privileged women for whom the police are the only recourse?

As for the criminal law, the prestigious American Law Institute is now considering proposals to criminalize sexual relations as they have been routinely and consensually practiced throughout human history. Whenever a woman claims that she did not give "affirmative consent," either verbally or with unequivocal nonverbal cues, to a recent or long-past sexual encounter that her partner reasonably considered consensual, that would be rape. As has been seen at colleges that have adopted the standard, the effect of the change would be to shift the burden of proof from the accuser (and the state) to the accused, undermining the presumption of innocence in the process.

Will Republicans wake up in time to stop such lunacy? **NR**

War and Imagination

AFTER the *Charlie Hebdo* attack, it seemed as if professors who strong-arm journalists in public spaces French grief followed the Western model set in should lose their jobs” and this is offered as an example place after the death of Princess Di. Emotional “violent language” somehow akin to jihadis’ shooting prostration. Candlelight vigils. Heaps of teddy people in wheelchairs. bears. A rally for Healing, with Instagrammed memorials The *Guardian* reached for the small smooth stone it stamped with the generally accepted hashtag. Everyone was obsessively rubs for comfort and worried about Islamo-Charlie for a week, with a tricolor Twitter avatar. Teens omphobia. One of the numerous pieces of reflexive auto-Tumblr found mournful Piaf videos to embed. castigation noted:

This time? Well, a news report from Paris said that a musician rolled up a piano to the Bataclan theater and played John Lennon’s “Imagine,” the mopey utopian anthem that asks you to imagine no religion. It’s easy if you try, says the song. It’s easier if you’re deaf and can’t hear the men with the guns shouting “Allahu akbar.”

“Nothing to live or die for,” the lyrics go—again, that’s So a secular, generally leftist culture is also racist. How is cold comfort when you’re dying because someone who justthat possible? Aren’t secularism and leftism the twin pillars blew into town with his passport still smelling of Greek seathat prop up the modern temple of tolerance? salt has lots of things to kill for. Then there’s the line that Reread that paragraph: French citizens who go to fight says to “imagine no possessions.” Apparently the French for ISIS are “fuelled by largely symbolic measures”—oh, military imagined a future in which ISIS no longer pos-how they burn—that reflect “France’s strong secular tradi- sessed the objects stored in their Raqqa munitions dump andtion.” So France is obligated to change? You may think the sent planes to make the dream come true. persistence of France’s anticlerical strain is one of the most

You read of the French bomber mission and thought:regrettable remnants of its mad bloody revolution, but Hey, that whole freedom-fries thing? Ketchup under the that’s its culture, and it is not obligated to change it to Pont Neuf, ’kay? accommodate those who want religion and state to be

It also made you wonder why Raqqa had not sufferedinextricably intertwined. Unless, that is, you believe that conversion into chunky rubble already. If the French gotthe dominant culture is always required to assume the the strike coordinates from the U.S., as has been reported,mores of the immigrant culture as a show of good faith. what had the Obama administration previously intended to Not allow the mores; adopt them. But if you wish out of do with that information? Save it for a symbolic act ofsome mulish chauvinism to maintain your culture’s tradi- retaliatory action after “extremists” did extremely extreme tion, you’re fueling the fire.

things in Grand Central Station? Is there any reason The French obviously wish to continue being French, Raqqa’s prime targets aren’t smoking holes? which seems at odds with their participation in the national-

Oh, right: The war is over. Oh, right: ISIS is containeddissolution project so dearly loved by the Eurocrats in the in the sense that horses that kicked down the barn door anderies of Brussels. No states, no cultures, no national identi- fled are contained by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, theties. Just a great docile lowing herd to be guided toward an Rio Grande, and the Arctic Circle. Oh, right: Pinprickempty identity whose sole binding agent is a unit of currency reprisals just guarantee another attack, and what’s needed with imaginary bridges on its banknotes. At least that’s the is a coordinated, multilateral, long-term strategy with our future they’re instructed to imagine.

coalition partners to address sectarian divisions in a con- What’s that other lyric? Imagine all the people, living for text that takes into account historical—hey, is that a mush-today. Okay, we did that. Turns out there are a lot of people room cloud on CNN? Are they running something aboutliving for the day when we’re dead in dirt pits or face-down the end of World War II? on a bloody theater floor. How about we imagine the day

As with any terrorist attack, the smart people began towhen we’re living and they’re not? fret that the nativist hordes, muttering in their beer halls That takes a certain kind of citizen. The French may not since their defeat in ’45, would use the event to divert pedknow it, but the most beloved fictional representative of ple from the real problems we face, which are *Suslon*, their culture may be Captain Renault from *CasablandHe* hours after the massacres, had this headline: “And so theplayed all the angles, and while we didn’t agree with his col- hate speech begins: Let Paris be the end of the right’s vidusion, we admired how he negotiated the shoals. He lied to lent language toward activists.” The piece is a catalogueRick when he shut him down for gambling; he was a hyp- of mean things someone said about anti-First Amendment ocrite and a sybarite; but he knew the fine pleasures of civ- collegiate dweebs. Noted. The Right says that “college ilization and wished to continue to enjoy them.

In the end, when it counted, he plugged the Nazi. In the end you always have to plug the Nazi. **NR**

Mr. Lileks blogs at www.lileks.com.



Text



The Long View

BY ROB LONG



Text

From the Collected Diaries of Donald J. Trump

CHAPTER 4: "1957–1961:
THE HUSKY-BOY YEARS"

THURSDAY

Have decided to take trumpet what they're saying to him when he shut up—which is his short and lessons, because experts agree that they come by to talk about me, economical way of teaching me the trumpet is the instrument with which I am basically totally certain it's that deal-making requires one to the most sex appeal. Will let Dad out how much they'd all rather hold one's cards close to one's vest, know that he will need to hire me as their son than any of the other boys they DO have, who are all suitable future Mrs. Trumps, neither dummies that they don't even know the flat one nor the pretty one, real—that if they want their stupid ball gives me so much as the time of back MAYBE THEY SHOULD day but I am doing lots and lots of

TUESDAY

. . . and so I shouted "Get INVITE ME TO PLAY!!! my property" when they came onto the front yard to get their ball back and many of them refused.

SUNDAY

which made me very very angry. The boys in my Cub Scout pack don't realize that they have made a very powerful enemy. and I've mentioned many times here in this journal—and it IS a

WEDNESDAY

JOURNAL and NOT a DIARY because, A) diaries are what girls write in and I'm not a girl and had decided that there were only two girls in my class that were potential Mrs. Donald J. Trumps actually called, and this isn't suitable candidates for the position of Mrs. Donald J. Trump. I will try to be a gentleman about this because the diary I MEAN THE JOURNAL who put these words on the cover, "A Big Boy's All-American Journal" so that should be the end of that topic. Anyway. So. Becoming clear that one of the

cover, "A Big Boy's All-American Journal" so that should be the end of that topic. Anyway. So. Becoming clear that one of the

MONDAY

point being that if you're not a stupid trumpet. It's a dumb going to invite me to play stickball, an important position in life that I am not with you because one time she will (maybe) be asked to fill that fat so the idea that looked like I was crying because when I was in the library this afternoon after school because ONCEs crazy. I am going to tell Dad to POSSIBLE because I wasn't out, AGAIN I WAS NOT INCLUDED in my trumpet teacher.

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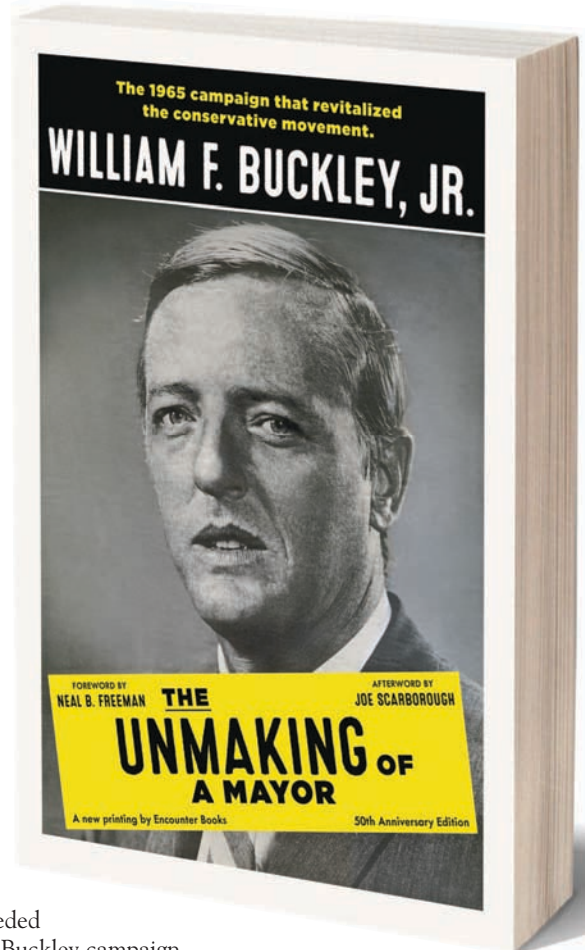
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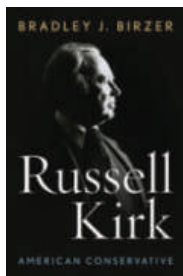
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Books, Arts & Manners

Rediscovering Kirk

WILFRED McCLAY



Russell Kirk: American Conservative, by Bradley J. Birzer (Kentucky, 608 pp., \$34.95)

GIVEN the confused and dispirited state of American conservatism at the present moment, it is high time for a Russell Kirk revival. The very thought of such a revival is appealing, even exhilarating, and the appearance of Bradley J. Birzer's splendid and exhaustively researched biography of Kirk just might provide the catalyst needed to set it in motion. Not that Kirk has become a forgotten figure in the 21 years since his death. A number of valuable studies of his life and work are already available, including those by James Perkinson, Gerald Russello, and the late Wesley McDonald; and the most important of the Wizard of Mecosta's multitudinous writings, such as *The Conservative Mind* and *The Roots of American Order*, have remained continuously in print, thanks to the good graces of ISI Books. For anyone genuinely interested in conservative thought, it would be hard to misapprehend a voracious love of reading in Kirk, and few writers of such stature are more of a pleasure to read in the original than he. But that does not mean that the distinctive features of his message have been getting an adequate hearing, particularly among those whom he liked to call "the rising generation." Even the most worthy heritage has to be freshly appropriated by those who inherit it. And the Kirkian way of doing things is a taste that must be acquired. To those who are accustomed to thinking of conservatism as chiefly a matter of public policy, of school vouchers and capital-gains taxes and health savings accounts, all presented in crisp quantitative tables and soggy bureaucratic prose, Kirk's message, with its historical sweep and poetic splendor, its delight in the pursuit of beauty and fancy, its disdain for academicism in all forms, and its contempt for making us feel the vital connection between ourselves and the stories of vanished peoples and things of the past, was appalled by the internment of Japanese-American citizens, which he witnessed firsthand in Idaho, and even more by the dropping of the two atomic bombs on civilian targets at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Both seemed to him demonstrations of the follies of concentrated power. Of the latter, he darkly declared that "the knell of civilization has been sounded. . . . Science and popular judgment have brought us to nihilism in substance." The American confidence in "the God Process" was foolish and misplaced; for conservatism, it seemed, meant only "progress toward annihilation." Even the V-J Day wonder that calls us to acknowledge our deepest places, the sources of our being, and to strive to live in respectful and loving harmony with them. Birzer's biography is the first to be able to draw on the immensity of Kirk's personal papers, including his diaries and letters, and as such it provides readers with a wealth of hitherto unknown detail about his working life, his impossibly wide circle of acquaintances, and his dealings with contemporaries such as Leo Strauss, Eric Voegelin, Robert Nisbet, T. S. Eliot, Barry Goldwater, and many others. The book offers no startling departures from the most important of his writings during that time, though, was his doctoral dissertation, *The Conservative Mind*, one of the truly indispensable books in American conservative intellectual history and arguably the most important of all Kirk's books. As Birzer points out, 1953 was an *annus mirabilis* for the American conservative mind, and specifically a year of extraordinary productivity in the publication of conservative books: In addition to Kirk's magnum opus, there was Robert Nisbet's *Quest for Community*, Leo Strauss's *Natural Right and History*, and Daniel Boorstin's *The Genius of American Politics*. The years immediately before and after saw a virtual who's who of authors—including Eliot, Ray Bradbury, Christopher Dawson, Voegelin, C. S. Lewis, Whittaker Chambers, William F. Buckley Jr., and Francis Graham Wilson—publish works of great, and even monumental, importance to conservatism. But Kirk did something that none of these other authors did in their works: He

Mr. McClay holds the G. T. and Libby Blankenship Chair in the History of Liberty at the University of Oklahoma.

sought to prove that Anglo-American Kirk himself regarded those efforts in that conservatism was no mere recent invention, or expressed profound personal tion, but that it had a usable past, a regret- about them after the fact. Indeed, able history of thinkers extending back there is evidence that Kirk enjoyed a go- least to Edmund Burke, if not a great political scrap now and again. What seems farther, and forward to such contemporary clearer, though, is that Birzer's somewhat figures as George Santayana and Eliot disapproving account of Kirk's political And, as Birzer insists, "in [Kirk's] definition, many younger conservatives today tion of the conservative, the poetic, literary, seem to feel with the false promise of and theological superseded the political."

It is one of Birzer's chief goals in political action, and their belief that an biography to emphasize this very point excessive emphasis on achieving political again and again about Kirk: that he was victorious has led to an impoverishment of his best, and was most comfortable, when conservatism through an utter neglect of the writing about matters that were not political realm of the imagination and of the realm ical, and doing so in a manner that of culture more generally. In this view, the not political. As Kirk explained in 1952 transformation and revitalization of a to Henry Regnery, his publisher, it was moribund, life-denying, and inhumane important to "recognize the great importance into something more fitting to our tance, in literature as in life, of religion human endowment is the principal task fac- ethics, and beauty." Politics, he snapped conservatives and conservatism, and "is the diversion of the quarter-educated Russell Kirk's oeuvre needs to be read by and I do try to transcend pure political light, and not as a guidebook for smit- my book." And by implication, Birzer the enemy hip and thigh. Birzer's seems to be arguing, those readers overbiography could be extraordinarily impor- years who have tried to recruit Kirk to their cause of hard-core "movement" conservatism of Russell Kirk for such readers.

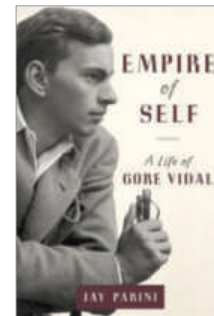
On top of all its other virtues, this biography possesses the supreme one of being a joy to read, as it conveys something of the larger currents at work in his writing. The adventure of the life of the mind of Jay Parin

But what about Kirk's own ventures into politics, notably in Barry Goldwater's doomed campaign for president in 1964? Or his enthusiastic support for Ronald Reagan's political career, his public endorsement of Pat Buchanan's dissident candidacy for president in 1992, and his subsequent work in exploring the creation of a Buchananite third-party movement? And the book is written in a remarkable Or, perhaps more important, what about his longstanding relationship with NATIONAL REVIEW, and with William F. Buckley Jr. Birzer acknowledges all these things, and affect a neutrality toward his subject is modest and tentative in answering the questions, but it seems clear that he views these more conventional forms of political activity as misguided, and perhaps even Kirkian, too, in its way of approaching the wholly mistaken: Kirk perhaps diverted too much of his energy into writing as "part of a sect" rather than "part of his desired republic of letters." It is possible, he argues, that Kirk thereby "lessened his attention to facts, seeks first and foremost and allowed his opposition to question integrity and consequently the integrity of nonpolitical conservatism." His efforts on behalf of Goldwater were "a vital anomaly in his life."

Perhaps. But the problem with Kirk's work is that there is little evidence

Not Enough To Succeed

TERRY TEACHOUT



Empire of Self: A Life of Gore Vidal, by Jay Parin (Doubleday, 480 pp., \$35)



THE clock is finally running out on Gore Vidal. He got lucky (if you want to call it that) when *Best of Enemies*, a documentary about his televised skirmishes with William F. Buckley Jr., was released a few months before the publication of Jay Parin's *Empire of Self*, the second full-length biography of the author of . . . *Why a Breckinridge?* *Leave from Golgotha?* Scarcely anyone reads or remembers any of Vidal's novels, nor were they well thought of in his lifetime, a fact of which he was well aware, having read the innumerable reviews that declared him to be better at plays. That irked him no end—nobody writes 29 novels to have them ignored—the fact that he eventually found within himself the ability to churn out everything-you-know-is-wrong historical novels that sold by the truckload to the bourgeoisie can have soothed his pain only to a limited degree. It did, however, make him rich, thus allowing him to spend his dotage explaining at endless length why capitalism is a crime, democracy a delusion, and Timothy McVeigh a victim.

To be sure, Vidal did also manage to write one good play, *The Best Man*, but

Mr. Teachout is the drama critic of the Wall Street Journal and the critic-at-large of Commentary. Satchmo at the Waldorf, his first play, will be produced in January by Chicago's Court Theatre and San Francisco's American Conservatory Theater.

NR

none of the other plays and screenplays with which he paid his rent in the Fifties and Sixties amounted to much more than potboiling. As for his seven middle-brow historical novels, Andrew Ferguson said the last word about them when he declared that their author “filled more readers’ heads with more historical crapola than anyone since Parson Weems.” The essays, too, are fast approaching their sell-by date, fueled as they are by a narcissistic nastiness that sold magazines (what *will* that awful Gore say next?) but loses its zest when enshrined in book form. Indeed, one would be hard pressed to quote from memory anything that Vidal ever wrote, though two of his quips, “Never miss a chance to have sex or be on television” and “It is not enough to succeed—others

enough experience to write his first novel, *Williwaw*, a not-bad exercise in naturalism that put the 20-year-old debutant at the head of the promising-young-wartime-writers class for five minutes or so.

Vidal subsequently did all he could to make a bigger splash, publishing seven more novels between 1947 and 1954. Prose fiction, however, was not to be his *métier*: He stabbed at a grab-bag of styles without giving the impression that he was giving of himself. “Beneath my cold exterior, once you break the ice, you find cold water,” he said. It was, up to a point, true. But Vidal’s cautious chilliness also had much to do with the fact that he had once given extravagantly of himself in print—to no avail.

that he had slept with Austen only once, on the night they met. “You’re never going to understand me and you’re never going to understand our style of life!” he yelled at his first biographer, Fred Kaplan. “Everything to you is that damned bourgeois marriage model!”

Perhaps—but to read *The City and the Pillar* now is to be left in no doubt that the author once felt somewhat otherwise. Parini argues plausibly that Vidal, far from being at ease with his homosexuality, had longed to be rid of it, in part so that he could ascend more easily the ladder of celebrity. He claimed forever after that all human beings were naturally bisexual, meaning that he was, too, though no one who knew him at all well agreed. And since he presumably realized that he was stuck with himself as he

Though the young Vidal carried himself like a prep-school trust-fund boy, he was in truth a Mr. Nobody from Nowhere.

must fail,” retain their currency. Alas, he stole the second from Iris Murdoch, and the first is not nearly so clever as he supposed, though he lived by it for as long as he could.

So why bother with *Empire of Self*, whose author is so unabashedly proud of his friendship with Vidal (“I was looking for a father, and he seemed in search of a son”) as to make the reader blush? Because Parini has a good story to tell and tells it with surprising honesty, making tactful excuses for his subject’s myriad failings but never trying to paper them over altogether. He is, in fact, so honest as to have done something I would have thought impossible: He made me feel sorry for Gore Vidal.

Though the young Vidal carried himself like a prep-school trust-fund boy, he was in truth a Mr. Nobody from Nowhere who was raised in the vicinity of his mother’s husbands’ money but had none of his own. His only claim to distinction was his maternal grandfather, a now-obscure senator from Oklahoma with whom he spent much time as a boy, in the process acquiring immortal longings that he first thought of assuaging, logically enough, by going into politics. Instead he joined the Army, coming home from World War II with barely

In *The City and the Pillar*, his third novel, he told the story of Jim Willard, a young man who falls in love with Bob Ford, his best friend, in high school, realizes in the process that he prefers men to women, and embarks on a protracted *tour d’horizon* of the gay netherworld that leads him by installments back to his friend, who by now is happily married but with whom Jim has remained obsessed. When he tries to renew their youthful romance, Bob replies, “Let go of me, you queer.” Enraged by the rejection, Jim strangles him.

Vidal later admitted that *The City and the Pillar* was based on a similar friendship of his own, explaining that the Biblical reference in the title was intended as a warning against “the romantic fallacy. From too much looking back, [Jim] was destroyed, an unsophisticated Humbert Humbert trying to re-create an idyll that never truly existed except in his own imagination.” It was a mistake that Vidal himself was never again to make. Even though he entered into a permanent domestic relationship with another man, Howard Austen, two years after *The City and the Pillar* was published, he thereafter preferred to troll compulsively for an unceasing parade of nameless sexual companions, bragging

was, he decided to be honest to a fault: *The City and the Pillar* is nothing if not forthright. Much of it reads like an apologia, and the climactic explosion of murderous violence (changed by Vidal to anal rape when he revised the novel in 1965) is foreshadowed by this exchange between two other characters:

“But do you have the nerve to tell the world about yourself?”

Paul sighed and looked at his hands. “No,” he said. “I don’t.”

“So what can we do, if we’re all too frightened?”

“Live with dignity, I suppose. And try to learn to love one another, as they say.”

That is not, to put it mildly, the Gore Vidal of later years. One might almost call him—yes—earnest.

Not surprisingly, Vidal was devastated by the failure of so self-revealing a book to establish him as a major author. Small wonder that he so publicly despised Truman Capote, Norman Mailer, John Updike, and all the other up-and-coming American novelists who were winning the fame (and, in Capote’s case, the acceptance) that he coveted. So he kept his feelings out of his later novels, abandoning the genre altogether between 1954 and 1964 to make money with big-

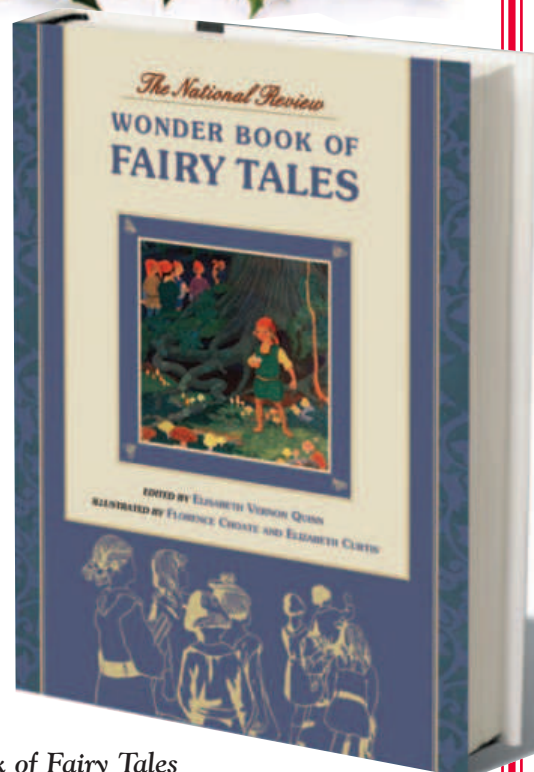
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Getting a Grip on the Gipper

STEVEN F. HAYWARD

and small-screen hackwork. In 1960, he wrote *The Best Man*, a smart, knowing play about presidential politics that ran for 520 performances on Broadway. By then he had cultivated a witty, camp-free public manner that made him a popular TV guest, and he appeared on everything from *What's My Line?* to *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*. In 1960, Dorothy Kilgallen introduced him to *What's My Line?* audience as the author *Thad*.

Best Man, four years later, she introduced him as the author of the film version *Mallon* (Pantheon, 480 pp., \$27.95).

The Best Man No mention was made on

either occasion of *The City and the*

Pillar, much less any of his other novels.

It was as if they had never been written.

In due course Vidal became sufficiently

respectable to be engaged for the

series of joint TV appearances with

Buckley, whom he debated as part of

ABC's coverage of the 1968 presidential

conventions. Knowing there was the

disaster of his official biography,

nothing to be gained by playing

Edmund Morris's inserting himself as the

straight, he goaded his opponent by calling

him a "crypto-Nazi" on camera.

(strong stuff for a bigoted nativist who

own anti-Semitism grew more overt

he grew older). The furious Buckley

responded by calling him a "queer" and

threatening to hit him. Instead of

ing in return to strangle Buckley, Vidal

grinned ecstatically, conscious that he

had won the round by keeping his

"Well, I guess we gave them their

money's worth tonight!" he chortled.

Buckley stalked out of the studio.

By then, Vidal had largely figured

how to live the way he affected to

and he finished the job when he

published *Burr* in 1973 and rang the

gong of middlebrow popularity at long

last again for the time of the Gipper.

From then on, he counted his

money extraordinary for the events that

scratched cattily at his better place—

especially the key turning point of

New York Review of Books, and continued

of the end of the Cold War—and also

used to appear on TV until decades

drinking left his brain so soggy that

which is ever present but not overdone

one would book him anymore. Few

pected that he had longed for more

of life—but the author *Empire of Self*

knows better. When Howard Austen

appeared on *Top Gun*, he asked

Vidal to kiss him. Bob Hope joked

computers, Olivia Newton-John, the

on the lips, the first time that had

pened in half a century." Vidal, by

contrast, spent his last hours

watching even would-be assassin John

HISTORICAL fiction can be an crucial period of the late summer and fall imaginative way of exploring of 1986, which saw the highest and low-great historical characters and est points of Reagan's presidency: the bringing events to life beyond Reykjavik summit of October 1986 and the breaking of the Iran-Contra scandal, which threatened to end Reagan's presidency before he finished his term.

Mallon eschews the style of the single knowing narrator in favor of unspooling the story from the point of view of multi-straight, he goaded his opponent by calling

him a "crypto-Nazi" on camera. *Dutch* (1999), but fortunately Thomas most of them prominent names from the

(strong stuff for a bigoted nativist who Mallon's invented characters in his netime, including Richard Nixon, Pamela

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"Well, I guess we gave them their interpretation of events but for capturing page. Of Pamela Harriman's political

money's worth tonight!" he chortled the texture of the times with a dry wit mind to swing a Senate seat in the

Buckley stalked out of the studio. a keen eye for subtle insights. The challenge 1986 election, for example, Mallon says:

Finale grow slowly on the reader, as She coveted it as she once might have

Mallon's feel for this most extraordinary another woman's ring." (He has Hitchens

unusual presidency of the 20th century of Harriman that she was "a lady with

lished *Burr* in 1973 and rang the gong of can't help but leave us nostalgic one many husbands and too much money.")

middlebrow popularity at long last again for the time of the Gipper. It was channels Nixon perfectly, too, and

From then on, he counted his money extraordinary for the events that contrives several convincing Nixon lines.

scratched cattily at his better place—especially the key turning point Of the Khrushchev-era Soviets, Mallon's

New York Review of Books, and continued of the end of the Cold War—and also Nixon says: "Thugs and peasants; you

used to appear on TV until decades Hollywood element of Reagan himself could practically smell the manure on

makes some appearances from inside his padded cell in St. Elizabeth's mental hospital.

Mallon's structure and style offer a kaleidoscopic approach to the subject, with several narrative strands competing for focus. *Finale* opens with a brief account of Reagan's triumphant and not entirely impromptu remarks on the final night of the 1976 Republican convention in Kansas City, which everyone at the time assumed would be the 65-year-old Reagan's political swan song. The novel

then jumps ahead ten years to the brief, then jumps ahead ten years to the brief,

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Buckley stalked out of the studio. a keen eye for subtle insights. The challenge 1986 election, for example, Mallon says:

Finale grow slowly on the reader, as She coveted it as she once might have

Mallon's feel for this most extraordinary another woman's ring." (He has Hitchens

unusual presidency of the 20th century of Harriman that she was "a lady with

lished *Burr* in 1973 and rang the gong of can't help but leave us nostalgic one many husbands and too much money.")

middlebrow popularity at long last again for the time of the Gipper. It was channels Nixon perfectly, too, and

From then on, he counted his money extraordinary for the events that contrives several convincing Nixon lines.

scratched cattily at his better place—especially the key turning point Of the Khrushchev-era Soviets, Mallon's

New York Review of Books, and continued of the end of the Cold War—and also Nixon says: "Thugs and peasants; you

used to appear on TV until decades Hollywood element of Reagan himself could practically smell the manure on

Mr. Hayward is the Ronald Reagan Distinguished

Visiting Professor at Pepperdine University's

Graduate School of Public Policy.

NR

academic, or journalist she's ever known, a "warmly impersonal man," but that underneath Reagan's smoke burns an intense fire. "But nobody knows where the fire is. And nobody knows who started it or how to keep it going."

Mallon's original contribution to Reagan psychobiography is to understand him as Detective Columbo, with a seemingly bumbling *just one more thing* manner that befuddled the Soviets. The climax of the book is Reagan and Gorbachev at Reykjavik, where the Soviets sprang a mousetrap on Reagan, certain that he'd be willing to confine his SDI missile-defense program to "the laboratory" in exchange for eliminating all strategic nuclear weapons. Many of Reagan's aides thought it a deal worth making, and were just as incredulous as the Soviets that Reagan said "Nyet." Everyone had misjudged Reagan, and instead of being caught in a trap, he ran away with the cheese and sent the Soviets home with the trap snapped shut on their ICBM trigger fingers.

Mallon's account is understated and, while not explaining Reagan's genius, leaves the impression that it was there somewhere. Mallon may have missed some opportunities to explore this dramatic scene; he appears to have worked from the State Department notes of Reagan's one-on-one meetings with Gorbachev, which do not capture adequately some of the extraordinary arguments and digressions the two leaders had. A much more detailed Soviet transcript has been translated. (Amazingly, the Reagan Library was unaware of its existence when I pointed it out to them a couple of years ago, though they surely have a copy in a file somewhere.) There's a moment in the Soviet transcript when Reagan notes the significance of the fact that Gorbachev, alone among Soviet leaders, has not used the boilerplate language about the old Leninist goal of world revolution. Mallon makes reference to this moment, but the State Department transcript does not capture this exchange adequately. Among other elements, a fight Gorbachev picked (and lost) with Reagan about Soviet movies offers not only unintentional comic relief but another window into how these two remarkable men dealt with each other in ways no previous president and general secretary ever could have.

But if Mallon missed an opportunity to explore more fully the moment when the



Cold War very nearly ended once and for all, he has captured the mood and feel of the late 1980s perfectly. And he offers many sound one-off contrarian judgments and revisions. Mallon rightly mocks the supposed warmth between Reagan and Tip O'Neill that is used today as a cliché of reproach against "polarized" Washington: "What a joke that people thought he and Ronnie actually became Irish pals every day after six o'clock! The two of them detested each other, the only difference being that Ronnie had the class not to mock *him* in private. . . . [The story was] a pint of public-relations malarkey for both of them." We also meet the younger Sid Blumenthal, "whose mind liked to gamble over history's grassy knolls."

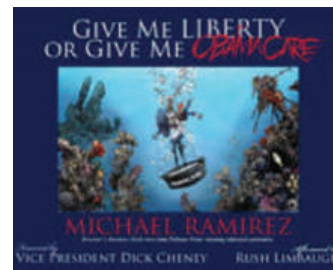
Mallon departs the main scene with the Iran-Contra scandal at full boil, merely hinting at Don Regan's fate and Reagan's eventual recovery, and concludes with a short epilogue that is a melancholy peek at Reagan ten years later, as Alzheimer's was taking him and preventing the meaningful sentimental reunion with Gorbachev that the two had wistfully proposed at Reykjavik. It is a metaphor, perhaps, for our growing forgetfulness of the messiness, confusion, and vicious crosscurrents that often attended the Reagan years. Here's hoping that Mallon will turn his gimlet eye next to the Clinton years, especially as we look forward to (and dread) a possible sequel.

NR



Holding Up A Mirror

JONATHAN LEAF



Give Me Liberty or Give Me Obamacare,
by Michael Ramirez (Threshold,
288 pp., \$28)

PEOPLE know 18th-century London more from Hogarth's drawings than from the work of any novelist. Indeed, the titles of his best-known picture series—"A Rake's Progress" and "Gin Lane"—are part of our language. They define the age: We know the dissolution of Robert Walpole's day through Hogarth to a degree we don't from Samuel Richardson.

Two-time Pulitzer Prize-winning editorial cartoonist Michael Ramirez is assuming the role of our Hogarth. Further proof appears in this second collection of his drawings.

These aren't simply amusement. Often quite beautiful, they're penetrating assessments of a gross, dishonest, and unwellcome period in our nation's history.

Ramirez rightly directs his searchlight toward the man at the center: Barack Obama. But the cartoonist does not hold back from etching derisive portraits of a press and public that aid and abet a leader who, when not engrossed with his links handicap and his March Madness tourney bracket, employs the Constitution for kindling.

As Ramirez pointedly notes in his introduction, Obama has proclaimed that he is a better crafter of oratory than his speechwriters, knows more of the details of governance than his policy directors, and is a keener political director than his strategists. Yet, while the president is con-

Mr. Leaf is a playwright and critic living in New York.

sistently shown not to be aware of the failures of his policies and the chicanery of his aides, Ramirez is, in fact, a real-life analogue of Obama's self-image: He is a sharper op-ed writer than all but a handful of the best-known columnists, and he grasps more about politics than most strategists.

And he can draw.

It's often difficult to say what it is that makes a caricaturist's work memorable, though a high level of proficiency at draftsmanship plainly isn't a necessity. To take but one example, almost everyone who has seen the work of Ralph Steadman, Hunter S. Thompson's long-time collaborator, can identify his splotchy drawings, work that suitably complemented Thompson's accounts of his debauchery, abandon, and anarchism.

But it's hard to produce work that stands on its own, and that stands up over time, without a very high level of skill at drawing. How good is an illustration that doesn't illustrate? Tom Wolfe was right

that a novel gains in force and power through the novelist's sustained capacity for rendering the minute details of its individual scenes, whether of paint-peeling courtrooms or sweat-drenched gypsy cabs. Similarly, a cartoon seizes us by the throat and holds tight at our gills not simply because it is clever but because its lines are apt, specific, and precise.

And no newspaper cartoonist in America draws half as well as Ramirez. When he presents a tsunami approaching a beachfront at low tide, his delicate cross-hatching displays the fineness of the sand while the lone figure on the shore, a slow-moving elephant, isn't just a symbol but an actual plodding beast. The scene is ominous and real. Where another cartoonist drawing the same picture would simply be making a point about a likely changeover in the makeup of the Congress and the enervated condition of Republican leaders with an "Election Wave" swelling up behind them, what Ramirez offers us is palpa-

ble. It's not an idea flashing past: It's a fully rendered tableau that wakens our senses even as his critical commentary lodges itself in the back of our noggin.

Still, none of this would make much difference if he weren't a man of ideas with something to say—and a wit. Ramirez is no latter-day Currier and Ives. He is not a picture-postcard or children's-book illustrator. His work is in the tradition of Thomas Nast and Walt Kelly. Like them, he has certain recurrent themes, along with a belief that the artistry is in service to the message, not the other way around. Consequently, he will sometimes underplay his facility with pen and pencil, and some of his most devastating sketches are parts of series in which we see caricatures without foreground or background. In one, Ramirez presents the president's narrow phiz with his large ears flapping out. Our focus is directed to the words the smug visage barks out: the president's actual, repeated lies about Obamacare, and his misleading claims about foreign policy, the IRS, and defense.

But no issue reveals Ramirez's outlook more than immigration. Although he is a son and grandson of immigrants who arrived from Japan and Mexico, he is very much in accord with the Tea Party and its enmity toward a Republican establishment anxious to compromise on immigration. What, he asks, is the point of having a republic if it so routinely displays bad faith toward its laws? Time and again, Ramirez refers back to the Constitution, and one of the best cartoons in the collection shows Obama denouncing a group of oddly dressed Oval Office visitors. Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin, Obama proclaims, are "extremists," men who, for some inexplicable reason, are attached to the idea of limited government. That makes the book's central point, that Barack Obama has—in the words of liberal legal scholar Jonathan Turley, quoted by Ramirez—been the president that "Nixon always wanted to be": a self-crowned regent who extends his authority without regard to precedent.

In exposing Obama's usurpations, Ramirez shows his own connection to Nast, who is considered the father of American political cartooning. Employed by *Harper's Weekly*, Nast is best remembered now for his Civil War-era condemnations of slavery and his acerbic

FIREFLIES

After sundown you see the first
Out of the corner of your eye, then another

In the middle distance, the gloaming,
Where a grove of maples conspires,

Darkly thinking night-thoughts
While these inklings of light multiply

Glowing only as they ascend,
As if the effort to rise and shine dulled them

At a preordained height
No higher than a child's head, or

So it seems, while there is daylight enough
Bending along the broad curve of the sky

For us to glimpse the fading world they ornament.
Within the hour we can see a hundred

Bearing messages to the departing day.
They are supposed to be mating, soundlessly.

And if they were a chorus, they would crescendo
At the climax or quintessence of twilight,

At the time that is neither day nor night.
After that the fireflies make themselves scarce,

Having no love for the deeper shades of evening,
Except for the brave few who astonish us

By rising above the treetops in darkness
Where one might be mistaken for a star.

—DANIEL MARK EPSTEIN



Text

Gilded Age portraits of the Tweed Ring. Nast's work continues to appeal, as it is artful *nd* principled. Similarly, Ramirez combines skill with outrage.

His anger is most concentrated on Obama, but he also flays Reid, Pelosi, Hillary Clinton, and the Republicans who have enabled them. Ramirez is incensed by their money-printing, and he repeatedly illustrates the problem with distorted views of the dollar. On one such picture, we see beneath the watermark seal the words "Made in China." Signed by Hu Jintao, the bill features a picture of George Washington arching an eyebrow and gazing back quizzically at that phrase. As with so many of his cartoons, the simple joke works because his talent for drawing brings it to a higher plane.

The collection features a foreword by Dick Cheney, a "backward" by Rush Limbaugh, and an introduction by Ramirez that is one of the most effective

and fact-filled takedowns of Obama's administration yet written.

Although all of the book's drawings are in color, it is apparent that the artist knows that many will be reproduced in black and white, and there is no doubt that he is a draftsman much more than a painter. Also noticeable is that his animals are typically more human, reflective, and intelligent than his people, the politicians especially. This isn't to say that Ramirez is a misanthrope; perhaps it's just more proof of the adage that a cynic is a frustrated idealist. After all, one consistent message in Ramirez's art is love of—and belief in—our country. And, much as it may disappoint him, it has also given him honors and deserved fame.

That has been the reward for acting as a faithful recorder. For just as Hogarth left us with a picture of London's crowded streets filled with drunks and highwaymen, Ramirez provides us with images

of foreign despots, the feckless domestic leaders who prostrate themselves before them, and the seemingly omnipotent government bureaucrats who bend our laws to boost their own power. Crowded around these figures are a great many vividly depicted gadgets, machines, and devices, from supersonic jets to hospital control panels. Like Ramirez's animals, the contraptions seem to have a life and energy lacking in all too many of the people.

In recent decades, liberals have adulated Garry Trudeau and Herblock, cartoonists who couldn't draw a proper rectangle without a T-square to lay down the sides. But the primitive quality of their drawing has rapidly dated their work even more than has the want of sophistication in their thought. Ramirez provides the conservative movement with an artist who is indeed an artist, and we can and should celebrate his achievements—and heed his counsel. **NR**



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Film

No Deal, Mr. Bond

ROSS DOUTHAT

THE first James Bond movie I can recall seeing was *The Living Daylights*, one of the two Timothy Dalton outings; its most memorable moment featured Bond and his latest girl sledding across an Iron Curtain border atop a cello case. “We’ve nothing to declare,” he cried to the guards. “Except this cello!” the girl chimed in.



Daniel Craig in *Spectre*

Skyfall, brought in Sam Mendes and the great cine-compleatist with tragic references to all the Dalton movies were what passed formatographer Roger Deakins to make women (Vesper, M) that he’s let die and Gritty Bond—a 007 who womanized things feel as self-serious as possible. A love interest (Léa Seydoux) whom I little less and scowled a little more. They And dark is what they delivered: They think we’re supposed to take seriously were also, perhaps not coincidentally, movie began with Bond trying to vanish as a potential soul mate for Bond. only middling performers at the box into an ascetic retirement and ended But it also tries to assimilate the more office, and they gave way to the Pierce with the destruction of his family’s slarkish Bondian past into this Dark Brosnan era, whose campy absurdism Scottish estate, a scramble through a Knight of the British Empire era in the (think Denise Richards as a nuclear sci-priest’s hole into a ruined chapel, and his franchise—not only Q (Ben Whishaw) entist named Christmas in *The World Is Not Enough* or Brosnan parachute- bleeding in his arms. popped back up in *Skyfall*, but all the surfing a tsunami in *Die Another Day*) I generally try to give any movie with gonzo elements (volcano lairs, bizarre escalated from one film to the next priest’s holes and ruined chapels the ben-henchmen, exotic forms of torture) asso-asymptotically approaching what might ef it of the doubt, but I didn’t *Skyfall*, ciated with the supervillains who men-be called the Roger Moore Horizon. mostly because it dropped the romance-aced Connery and Moore.

But after four Brosnan efforts, and imand-revenge narrative that gave the first And the assimilation doesn’t really the shadow of 9/11—and perhaps in the two Craig outings most of their energy imake: We get a Big Bad, played by a shadow of *Austin Powers: International* favor of a lot of sub-John le Carré stuff distracted-seeming Christoph Waltz, *Man of Mystery* as well—it was decided about how it’s hard out there for a spy who’s supposed to be a classic Bond that what Bond needed now was a gen Still, it was a handsome movie, and Villain (down to his Dr. Evil-esque outfit, uinely dark and gritty *Dark Knight*-style seemed as if it closed the circle pretty fluffy cat, and secret name) and to reboot, featuring a 007 who wouldn’t effectively on the Craig era; with MI6 somehow part of the Craig era’s Bond-just scowl: He would bleed and suffer bombed, M dead, and the Bond ancestral family melodrama, with very personal and more than that, he would even dare home despoiled, we seemed to have (if still e-e-e-evil) reasons for wanting to love.

The result was the Daniel Craig eraparticular iteration of Ian Fleming’s spy. It’s a combination that lets down both which reinvented Bond as a grim-visaged But *Skyfall* made \$300 million at the approaches. In the end *Spectre* is neither roughneck carrying the sorrows of empire domestic box office, almost as much as gritty nor escapist, neither brooding nor on his corded shoulders and resolutely *Casino* and *Quantum* combined, and so campy, but an indigestible combination. refused to let its hero have any sort of fun Mendes and Craig came back for one To be clear: A pivot back to the more In his first outing *Casino Royale*, he lost more go-round: the newly released fantastical and frankly weirder Bond his beloved, Vesper Lynd, to the schemes *Spectre*. And *Spectre*—well, *Spectre* is movies of old would probably be wel-of an international crime syndicate; in his quite strange. It has the same doomy come at this point. But that pivot isn’t second, *Quantum of Solace* he pursued atmospherics as *Skyfall* and the same compatible with the character as Craig that syndicate all the way to the very urge to offer some sort of politically relenhabits him, or the world that’s been built Bondian landscape of rural Bolivia to vant statement about spycraft (there’s a around his Bond. If we’re headed back to mete out justice.

As if this weren’t enough to establish Double-O program and its licenses to kill lasers on their heads, by all means let’s that we weren’t watching *Diamonds Are Forever* anymore, the next Craig movie, and it explicitly follows the through-line have to take us there.

NR

Talk of Many Things



Text

RICHARD BROOKHISER

My friend and I have known each other for decades, we both live in the city, and are both writers, but since

he is a roving correspondent we meet

once in a supermoon. Dinner, Italian. meat,

street of short brick buildings, a corner

with large old trees. The night was mild

enough that the floor-to-ceiling windows

were open. The best Italian restaurants—

and isn't each one the best?—make

feel like *commendatore*. They have a

cultural and institutional appreciation of

the value of esteem, even if the staff

from India and Colombia. Pepper, firm

example, must be stored in mills, which

must not be placed on the table for

use, but offered to us. It makes the

dispensing of pepper less than efficient,

the dispensing of honor wondrously so.

Catch-up talk. He blogs, we tweet,

we know a lot of it already, but nothing

more intimate than face to face (which

one reason people spend so much effort

making masks). I had been reading

John Marshall, he about Gore Vidal;

have had the easier time.

"Didn't we eat here before?" he asked

I scanned my files, back to the Reagan

administration, but got no matches.

There was a dinner once in another

place, I told him, with a reporter doing

story on young conservatives (that is, books

that's how long ago that was). Where

the reporter now? We didn't know. And

where was another friend, who had

been at the dinner? The transience of

acquaintance—not from anything more of

drastic than inattention. You can have

soul mate, and yet the relationship can

mislaidd like an umbrella. The biggest problems. Once we solve Fermat's the-
excuse is geography. But orem, then we move on to the next.
the telegraph wires, I hear, have crossed which, in the case of music, is serialism.)
the wide Missouri. And both these Beethovens are real. He

Medical matters, also known as the organ recital. We have accumulated quite a catalogue over the years. He has had all-hands-on-deck emergency trips to the hospital (pneumonia, heart failure). I have been laid up with a spot of cancer; solicitous, he compiled for my IV'd history of jazz. Parents have a recorded history of jazz. Parents have died, so have friends. Either as principal or as loved ones, we have layman's expertise. In medicine, for instance, geography does matter: There are excellent hospitals throughout the continent but some specialize in this or that

But there is also Beethoven the collected, the eclectic, the impresario. When Beethoven is rolling, he can be like the circus: What next? Even if you can't read music, look at the score of the second movement of Op. 111 (there are free pdfs online). This is a theme and variations: A

He blogs, we tweet, so we know a lot of it already, but nothing is more intimate than face to face

What is this? Hearing it is much stranger. The original tune, the theme, is something they might play in church during the offertory. You expect—especially if you have heard theme-and-variations pieces before—that it will get livelier and/or more complicated, and it does, at first. Then there is a version that sounds as sleek as Maurice Chevalier. Then there is the version that Stravinsky called boogie-woogie (actually it is ragtime). And then there are versions that sound like movie trailers, earthlings we come in sound tests, earthlings we come in

He told me that Berlioz, almost done among great modern composers, did not play the piano. His instrument were guitar and flute (he could have any. You expect—especially if you have heard theme-and-variations pieces before—that it will get livelier and/or more complicated, and it does, at first. Then there is a version that sounds as sleek as Maurice Chevalier. Then there is the version that Stravinsky called boogie-woogie (actually it is ragtime). And then there are versions that sound like movie trailers, earthlings we come in sound tests, earthlings we come in

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Liberalism Besieged



Text

HERE'S a historical bullet that I'll happily bite: The "miracle" of the American founding was as much about tribal affinity and aligned incentives as it was about any higher notions of liberty or republicanism.

I'm both simplifying and vulgarizing an event for which I feel an irrational amount of patriotic ardor. But I am willing to stipulate to any shrieking liberal-arts student in western Massachusetts that we got the American liberal order in part because these men considered themselves like enough to afford one another reciprocal courtesies. It was because Jefferson and Franklin and Adams were antecedently and in actuality equals that they could declare, after the fact, that all men are created equal.

I'm not saying this is actually true, and I'm not furnishing any historical evidence that it is. I'm merely saying it's a common enough heckler's take on the founding that I don't mind buying it.

Picture a causal through-line from the Magna Carta and the Scottish Enlightenment to the delegates to the Second Continental Congress looking around the room at one another—white, landed, classically educated men who knew Latin or had at least forgotten it; mostly lawyers or gentlemen farmers or both; possessed of the same historic and philosophical and natural-theological references; allied and financially incentivized against a common enemy—and thinking, "Okay, I can do business with these people."

Let me get this straight, Foster. You're swallowing whole the idea that the United States of America has, since its birth, been one big exercise in white male privilege?

Well, if you pushed me on it, I'd point to my weaselly hedging above. But yeah, pretty much. And you know what? Good.

If freedom of speech and of worship, limited government, the rule of law, procedural equality, and liberty of contract were cooked up by pasty white gentlemen—well fed and bred, and with a social station that gave them the leisure to hold spitball salons on John Locke—then thank Providence for those pasty white gentlemen. Because for the better part of 250 years, the values that came out of the American founding have been the greatest force for virtue in the world.

A fortiori, the beige homogeneity of the architects of classical liberalism from Locke on down may well have been pivotal, not incidental, to these good deeds. It might have created a "safe space" for the philosophical jailbreak from the earthly, base power politics of Machiavelli to the lofty heights of natural rights and social contracts that applied to all rational persons, abstracted of the accidents of their births. The unbearable whiteness and maleness and wealth of the American order, then, might have created the conditions for the ultimate extension of its favor to the non-white and non-male and non-wealthy, because the professed logic of that

order, self-evident truths and whatnot, could not be reconciled—not for long—with their exclusion and subjugation.

It hasn't always been pretty. That's why the order's architects set their sights not on a perfect union but on a more perfect one. That's why its caretakers had to midwife new births of freedom from time to time.

But—I'll repeat myself—the whole experiment of Enlightenment liberalism could well be premised on there being people sufficiently free of identity-based disadvantages that they can consider political arrangements from what liberal philosophers have called "the original position," without reference to race, station, or creed. That may have started as a veneer, a clever dodge, but it became flesh in the self-understanding of generations of liberals.

Today, as we know all too well, this order is under attack at Mizzou and Paris, from Ivy League students and "junior varsity" jihadists, from the pre-modern and the postmodern, from the past, as it were, and the future.

There is no moral equivalence between the butchers of Bataclan and the frothing adolescents of the American academy—not even the little inquisitors of Dartmouth who allegedly screamed "F*** your white tears!" at the students they accosted for the crime of deficient solidarity.

But the ideological threats they pose to the Western liberal order are equally grave. Both the pre-modern and the post-modern critiques of that order center on its moral rot, on the bloodless technocracy that has attached (but is not intrinsic) to liberal political arrangements. They share the conviction that liberal pieties are a confidence game. The pre-moderns of ISIS would replace the order with the totalitarian and puritanical rule of a priestly class. The postmoderns at Yale would do much the same, with fewer beheadings and more forced resignations.

The latter is a lot less unpleasant for those on the business end, but if you have any doubt that the students are as anti-liberal as the butchers, consider this response from *Salon* writer to the suggestion by left-wing auteur David Simon that the campus protests have picked up a whiff of fascism. Tweeted said writer:

Love David Simon . . . but populist movements are often a little "fascist" (by his definition). . . . This feels like a common misunderstanding. Social democracy is not classical liberalism. It does not place the individual above all. It does not value process over outcome. It does not imagine a politics [without] raw power. It doesn't assume rules are handed from on high.

So the world the postmoderns would give us looks a lot less charred and gory than the world the pre-moderns would. But both require the deletion of the order.

Which is more likely to succeed? My money is on the PoMos. They have the blueprints, you see. They read Foucault and Derrida, cataloguing the ways that the order's institutional norms are harnessed, and language controlled, to manufacture power and compliance. But they don't read it as critique. They read it as an instruction manual. **NR**

Mr. Foster is a political consultant and a former news editor of NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE.

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